WORLD REVIEW

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VERNON BARTLETT

SHOULD GERMANY HAV[E] HER COLONIES BACK?

"Yes!" by W. H. Dawson, Hon. D.Ph.

"No!" by Duncan Sandys, M.P.

OTHER NATIONS' VIEWS

WORLD REVIEW

Volume III. No. 1. Incorporating 'REVIEW OF REVIEWS' and 'WORLD' *March,* 1937

40 CHANDOS STREET
LONDON W C 2

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THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

THE WAY OF THE WORLD

by VERNON BARTLETT

I EXPECT you are tired of the long and rather pompous articles which I contribute to this review. Well, so am I, and therefore we will make a change of method.

Germany Hesitates

Many people grumble about Herr Hitler's speech of January 30 because it contained so little that was definite in the way of proposals or demands. But just for that reason it was one of the most important and constructive speeches he has ever made. Certainly the most constructive since his disarmament offers of 1933 and 1934, which Sir John Simon, M. Barthou and Herr Hitler's own friend, Lord Londonderry, treated with such discourteous and sceptical folly. For it showed at least a hesitation to continue along a path which must lead to war and a faint hope that he would be tempted to follow a new path towards co-operation with other powers.

It is, after all, encouraging that the Fuhrer is so hard up for Saturday surprises to maintain the enthusiasm of his people that he recently had to denounce restrictions over the Kiel Canal, which everybody outside Germany understood he had denounced when he

threw over all international control of German waterways months ago.

So little remains of the inequalities of Versailles that no further unilateral gestures can be made without involving Germany in grave danger of European war. And, consequently, the Führer makes such a dull speech that even his devoted followers yawn over it. I know of one bank cashier who grumbled, when he was told that all the staff must gather in one room to listen for two hours, that even at the theatre there were intervals for drinks.

Berlin's Spanish Worries

Intervention in Spain was Hitler's first step in foreign affairs which had no possible connection with German ill-treatment at the Peace Conference, and it has brought Berlin far more worries than it was worth. Foreign newspaper correspondents there often receive valuable clues to the secret anxieties of the German Government by being summoned to the Propaganda Ministry for solemn admonition about despatches they had thought were relatively harmless. Several of them, including one visitor—myself—have discovered in this way how unhappy the German authorities are about their own Spanish adventure.

I found ample confirmation in Berlin that the General Staff had objected very strongly to the whole business, and the Führer himself is said to have been very shocked that his tanks and aeroplanes did not put up a better show on the Madrid front. But the more moderate members of the Government and of the General Staff can never be sure that the same Nazi hotheads who urged this adventure on Hitler will not one day stage a demonstration on the Czech frontier or somewhere else which will compel the nation to go to war. Dr. Schacht, by the way, may very shortly be pushed rather unceremoniously into the background, and one envies neither the man who has to control finances in his place nor the Government that loses the collaboration of that conceited but clever and witty man.

Misconceptions About Britain

There are two serious dangers connected with Germany. One is that men like Herr von Ribbentrop, Lord Londonderry and Lord Rothermere still keep alive the belief in Berlin that an Anglo-German alliance is a political possibility. To that end millions of Germans

are being assured that Mr. Anthony Eden has no solid Cabinet support for his speeches on foreign affairs. Which is bunk !

There will only be a chance of that general settlement, about which statesmen talk so much, when German leaders awake to the facts that no British Foreign Secretary could lead the country into an anti-Bolshevik camp, however disgusted it may be by the Moscow trials, and that the only alternatives for Great Britain are an Anglo-French alliance and a development of the collective system. And even an Anglo-French alliance which entirely neglected the fate of Eastern Europe is no longer conceivable.

Nothing could do more to strengthen Mr. Eden's position than the conviction in this country that the Germans were propaganding for his removal from it. It would be amusing to know whom the Conservatives of the Londonderry type would like to put in his place and how they would manage to keep him there. For the Foreign Secretary has two tremendous advantages. Despite his sad failure to deliver the goods, he still retains the trust and sympathy of most of his party's opponents. And he has the support of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the future Prime Minister.

The other German danger is the extent to which anti-Russian propaganda has brought the most pacific of the German people into line with the most warlike. I find that kindly and cultured ladies in Berlin who, four years ago, were convinced that the Jews were destroying the Fatherland are now equally convinced that the Comintern is to blame. The very intensity of their desire for peace makes them ready to send their sons out to war against this enemy.

No Jogging Mr. Baldwin

Now that further " surprises " in international affairs would carry with them so grave a risk of war, the Führer is obviously hesitating which way to turn. That he cannot afford to hesitate for very long is proved by the disappointment caused by his speech of January 30.

There could, then, be no better moment to encourage him to turn towards international co-operation and away from economic and political isolation. No better moment for a really bold British initiative, including the offer of a rearrangement of the whole system of colonial administration as part of a general settlement. Colonies might not have great commercial value for Germany, but they could

be easily interpreted to German public opinion as such a victory for the Führer that he could afford to enter on a phase of co-operation whose commercial value would, indeed, be great.

But people in close touch with Downing Street smile sadly at any suggestion of a bold British initiative to help Herr Hitler to behave himself. Mr. Baldwin, they say, cannot possibly be jogged into activity again. He will sit quietly at Number Ten until after the Coronation, and what cares he of the deluge that may come after him!

German-Russian Alliance?

One last word about Germany and Russia. It would surprise a good many people in Berlin and Moscow if they knew how much experts in London and Paris were preoccupied with the idea not of a German-Russian war, but of a German-Russian alliance.

After all, Stalin seems as determined as any Nazi could be to destroy the Comintern, and Hitler is careful to point out that he has no quarrel with the Russians but only with their Communists. The gap now is not very wide, for Germany is becoming more socialist and Russia is becoming more nationalist. Months ago one of the heads of the French Foreign Office told me that the principal reason for the signature of the Franco-Russian pact, was the desire to forestall the signature of a German-Russian one. For that same reason, even the British Government is now beginning to develop quite an affection for a pact which has no justification under the League Covenant.

Optimistic Dr. Benes

One of the most puzzling men in Europe is President Benes of Czechoslovakia. He sits in that most lovely of castles, the Hradschin at Prague, and persists in being an optimist!

The Czechs have not been too wise in dealing with their three-and-a-half million German minority. One of the most prominent of them boasted to me only a few months ago that they had nothing to fear from their Germans, because the entire administration, the entire police force and the entire army were Czech—a flat contradiction to the boasts that the minorities were on a footing of absolute equality of opportunity with the majority. I doubt whether our own record overseas entitles us to claim that we should have acted with any more wisdom or tolerance, but that, fortunately for us, is off the

point. The point is that the failure of President Benes to negotiate with Herr Konrad Henlein, the leader of the Sudeten German Party, is driving the great majority of those Germans more and more towards National Socialism. I refuse to believe that Henlein is—or, at any rate, was—merely the tool of Hitler, and the failure to deal with him is much too like the former failure of the French to deal with Stresemann.

But one can hardly blame Dr. Benes for resenting these constant German attacks on his country as a hotbed of Bolshevism, and for refusing, in consequence, to deal with the 60 per cent. of the German minority—the Sudeten German Party—which favours National Socialism. For it is absurd to pretend that the Czechs, comfortable and respectable to the verge of smugness, are " going Bolshie." They dislike and distrust their link with Russia, and would be only too happy to weaken it if the German attitude became less threatening.

The success of the " volunteer " method in Spain of interfering in the affairs of another country without appearing to do so may also create difficulties for Czechoslovakia. Plans, of which I have seen the fullest possible details, exist for the arrival in that country of Hungarian " volunteers " to arouse the Hungarian minority in the south-east, and of German " volunteers " to perform a similar service to the German minority in the north-west.

And yet Dr. Benes keeps on smiling, and assuring visitors in his abominable French that his country has nothing to fear.

Faking Atrocities

There is nothing very new about faking photographs for political purposes, and it is widely believed that atrocity pictures were sold to both sides in at least one Balkan war. The game goes on. During the advance from Toledo to Madrid some very horrible photographs were taken of children who had been killed in a Franco air-raid on Getafe. So horrible that most British newspapers, even those supporting the Spanish Government, refused to publish them.

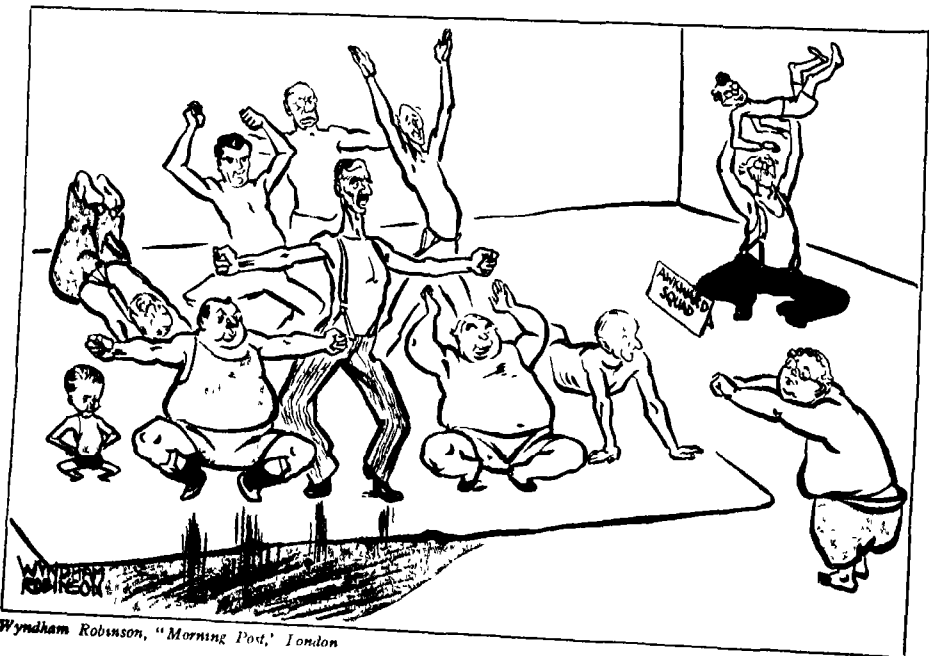
You may find them, however, in a recent number of Julius Streicher's *Der Stuermer*, which still continues its disgusting career, despite the frequent assurances that it is about to disappear.

But you might not recognise the photographs, for Herr Streicher

has made a slight alteration. The caption beneath them runs : " The children of Nationalist families are murdered by the Reds."

Contagious Creed

One of the many delays in producing an effective control plan to prevent the arrival of men and munitions in Spain, has been caused by the discussions as to whether there should be international naval patrols for the whole coast or national patrols for certain zones, with German and Italian ships controlling the Spanish Government area and British and French ships controlling General Franco's area.

The latter plan was chosen and the Russians, with justifiable anger, wanted to know why they should be left out of the picture. One reason—but not the published reason—was that their closest friends, the French, did not want very intimate collaboration between French and Russian ships. Fascism—*pace* Herr Hitler—is apparently less contagious than Communism !

Wyndham Robinson, "Morning Post," London

THE GOVERNMENT SETS THE EXAMPLE
Recently the Government has announced its plans for a National "Keep Fit" Campaign.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Spanish Picnic

SEVERAL friends of mine have recently come back from Spain with stories about the fighting. According to their accounts, as long as the war was still mainly in the hands of the natives, it was often conducted with the carelessness of a picnic. One journalist of my acquaintance reached Getafe, the Croydon of Madrid, shortly after the insurgent advance guard.

" Have you taken the aerodrome yet ?" he asked a group of officers.

No one knew.

Guitar Accompaniment

My friend walked boldly on in the direction of the Cerro de los Angeles, a hill then occupied by Government militia. Within easy range of the enemy gunfire, he saw a party of insurgent troops reclining on the grass and having lunch. The corporal in charge was playing the guitar.

The journalist repeated his question. " Have you taken the aerodrome yet ?"

" We don't know," was the reply. Then someone pointed a machine-gun at the hill opposite. " Anyway," he said, " this is the front line."

But, as General Franco's staff have only six-inch motoring maps, it is small wonder that his troops seldom know where they are.

In Bombed Madrid

According to returned members of the Scottish Ambulance unit, Madrid has been very badly knocked about. Yet, in a film I saw

which had newly come from Madrid, civil life seemed to go on unhindered as if the city were miles behind the firing line.

Trams were running in the streets, hawkers and loafers lounged at the corners and, in token of the Socialist regime, brand new co-operative stores had been opened. But, apart from beans and Russian tinned beef (reported to be excellent), food is very short.

Tale of a Tub

The Duke of Alba's palace has suffered as badly as anything from the bombardment. Where formerly the ducal bath stood in a setting of gold and crystal, nothing is left but a hole in the wall.

At the British Embassy, the chair in which the Military Attaché was sitting when he was slightly wounded by a bomb stands up unharmed among a mass of ceiling debris. Oddly enough, the bomb is reported to have been of British make, though of antique vintage.

Sacked

Commanders on both sides in the civil war, however successful, are liable to be dismissed at short notice. That bold and energetic officer, Colonel Yague, who led the first insurgent force to penetrate the outskirts of Madrid is now on the shelf, following political differences with his superiors.

On the other side, the naturalised Canadian General Kleber, who fought both ways during the Russian Revolution, ending up in command of a brigade under the dashing Red cavalry leader, Budyenny, has also been retired. He was in charge of the International Column, and boasted too much that the successful defence of Madrid was due to his own troops and not to the Spanish militia.

Now, instead of patrolling the streets of the capital in a smart armoured car, he is reduced to strolling disconsolately about the country lanes at Mislata, the village where he is now living on the road between Madrid and Valencia. He hopes soon to return to Russia.

General Kleber's origins are wrapped in mystery: one report says that he first came to Russia as a Hungarian prisoner from the Galician front. During the Revolution, he appears to have led a band of freebooting cavalry which, after fighting for a time on the White side, transferred its allegiance to the eventual winners.

Trotsky later was struck by his capacity and took him on to his staff.

Since then, in Hungary, in China, in Germany, Kleber, whose original name is given as Ludwig Tekete, has cropped up wherever there have been signs of revolution. He came to Spain last September from Russia on board the Soviet steamer *Kuban.*

GENERAL KLEBER

The "mystery man" who led the International Brigade in Madrid Now retired for saying he saved the city.

Poison Gas

The recent Anglo-Italian agreement carefully avoided going into details. The subject of broadcasting would have been particularly hard to approach on paper. A British consul who, while on leave, made an extended tour in Arabia has stressed to me the serious effect which the broadcasts from Rome in Arabic are having on the natives.

"They use worse language about the British than we do about the dogs in the market," he was told by the Imam of the Yemen.

The B.B.C. may have to learn Billingsgate too.

South Africa's "No"

If Germany is to have her African colonies back, she must find a

way of suppressing Generals Hertzog and Smuts, who between them run the South African Union.

Germans are not individually disliked in the Union ; in fact, not long ago it was being more or less openly said that their return to Africa (in somebody else's colonies) would be welcomed, as they would probably see eye-to-eye with the Union Government on the native question. But the idea that South-West Africa or Tanganyika should be ceded to Germany is considered quite out of the question. The same applies to Angola : the Union would, undoubtedly, expect Great Britain to exert pressure on Portugal, if she looked like allowing Germany to establish herself there.

The clue to the Union's attitude is defence. At present, Mr. Oswald Pirow, the German-born Defence Minister, has few worries, but the return to Africa of his former compatriots would soon make him share the nightmares of European statesmen.

The Burgher Generals

Ever since the days of Rhodes, politics in South Africa have been on the epic scale. Of late years the titanic struggle between Hertzog and Smuts, ending in their reconciliation, has been the main theme.

Smuts is the better known in England. I remember meeting the short, stocky Franz Hals, burgher, when he was Rhodes Memorial Lecturer at Oxford. Reserved and unassuming, he had no airs of greatness : but the cold blue eyes missed nothing, and his proverbial inaccessibility thawed as the evening went on. Still, he was always dry and incisive rather than genial.

Soufflé

There is some warmth hidden under the hard crust, however, as is shown by the following tale of his mission to Vienna after the Armistice. The Austrians were starving. The Head of the British Military Mission welcomed General Smuts with a banquet at Sacher's, the hotel frequented by Habsburgs in their lighter moments. Smuts was disgusted, gave his host a dressing-down and thereafter insisted that the Mission should live on its own rations and not insult the hungry Viennese.

Bilingual

" Ou' Baas " (Old Master—and it might well be in the picture dealers' sense), as his family call him, or " Jannie," as he is known to

his few intimates, Jan Christian Smuts was born a British subject, although the son of a Boer farmer.

Like General Hertzog, he studied at Stellenbosch, where he read Shelley and thought of becoming a Dutch Reformed Minister. His outlook was changed and enlarged by the winning of a Cambridge scholarship. Hertzog, on the other hand, never learnt to appreciate British ways, as he finished his education at Amsterdam.

First Round

This divergence came to a head thirty years later, when Hertzog left the Botha-Smuts Government of co-operation with Britain, to form the Nationalist Party. When the War broke out, Smuts was for clearing the Germans out of Africa, and did so : Hertzog and the Nationalists called it a British war in which they had no interest.

Knock Out

While Smuts was away in Europe acting as the War Cabinet odd-job man, Hertzog's ascendancy grew. Bespectacled, with a heavy moustache, the Boer champion was as tireless as his rival and had more charm. Smuts returned home to find his position undermined : his popularity faded altogether after his ruthless, though successful, suppression of the Rand Revolution. The Nationalists stepped in, and for ten years ruled the country with a programme of complete independence from Great Britain : but, in practice, nothing came of it, and now it is relegated to the Opposition group led by Dr. Malan.

Back in the Ring

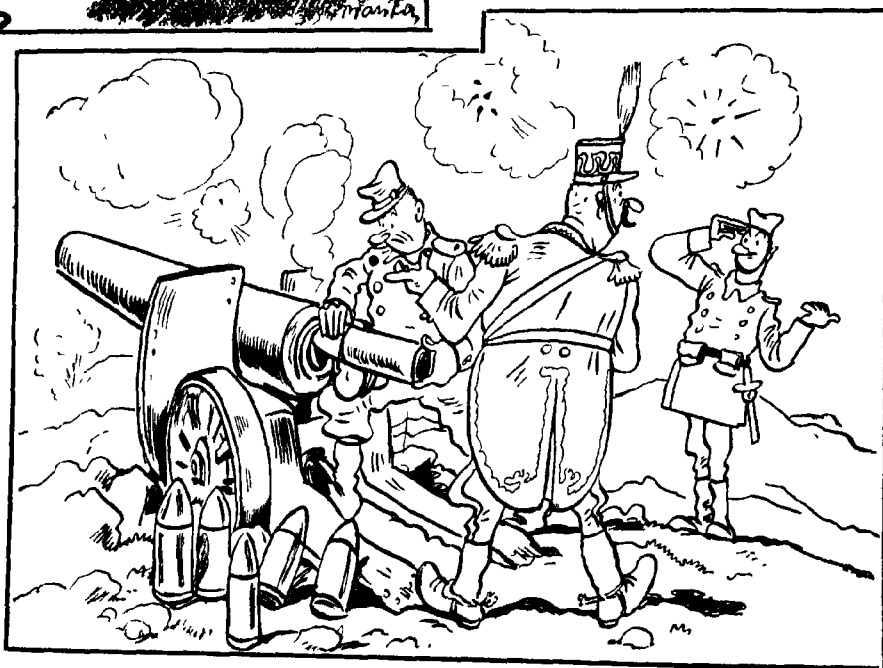
Smuts' chance came over the devaluation issue. Four years ago he split the country in a whirlwind campaign against the gold standard. Then the incredible happened : Hertzog changed his mind, and the two wise old Dutchmen sat down together to discuss the paper pound, which eventually saved South African prosperity.

Have you ever argued with a Dutchman whose mind was made up ? Hitler can try with these two, but it will be far harder than remilitarising the Rhineland. The taciturn Governor-General, Sir Patrick Duncan, once a member of the Milner *Kindergarten*, would be an equally tough British nut to crack.

THE SPANISH COCKPIT IN CARTOON—

AT THE FRANCO-SPANISH FRONTIER

"No rifle?" "No"
"A revolver?" "No."
"Not even a Russian grammar?" "No."
"Well, you can't cross the frontier You aren't respecting neutrality!"

"Guerin Meschino," Italy

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

"Beg pardon, Sir, but her ladyship says will you come over for a minute as she has something to tell you"

"Tell her I can't There is an extra big battle on this evening, and I shan't be home before ten."

The Gentleman from the Non-Intervention Committee :

" May we, Excellency, control German non-intervention in your Moroccan ports ? "

" Ja ! Ja ! "

" Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

" Bravo ! You have been wounded in battle, I see "

" Battle, Yes—but this is the result of the fight we had among ourselves during it "

ALL FOR ONE, BUT ONE FOR ALL

"Internationalise all colonies under the ægis of the League . . . "—NEWS CHRONICLE.

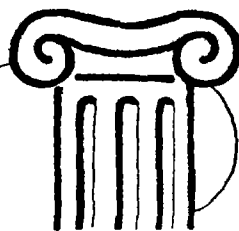
When at last the League of Nations,
Wedded to collaborations,
Rules colonial populations
Now our own,
And the Equatorial Ocean
Gets the broad Geneva notion,
Kindled to a world-emotion
Yet unknown,

When ex-subjects, not protected,
By our Empire disconnected,
But to fifty States selected,
Given in charge,
Learn that " national concession "
Is an out-of-date expression,
Patriotic prepossession
Must enlarge,

When League fleets of raw material,
Freed from tariff bars imperial,
Copra, cocoa, yams and cereal
Freely freight,
When by League of Nations Charter,
Fresh facilities for barter,
Make no bankrupt State a martyr,
Spitting hate,

Then if Powers still unsated
With new grievances created,
Communities mandated
Should attack,
Forth Esthonia's troops would sally,
Haiti would not shilly-shally,
Salvador would straightway rally,
And Iraq.

If a League of Nations war is
Mandatees for mandatories,
And Geneva's peaceful glories
Then would die,
For Peru, Spain, Lithuania,
Siam, Persia, France, Rumania,
Finland, Turkey, Greece, Albania
And Paraguay.

REYNARD.

SHOULD THE EX-GERMAN COLONIES BE RETURNED ?

THE CASE FOR GERMANY

by WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON, HON.D.PHIL.

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing their views, articles by writers of international authority. This month we have been fortunate in securing two champions of opposing points of view on the outstanding question of the moment : Should the ex-German colonies be returned ? Mr. W. H. Dawson is an authority on Germany of long standing, and is the author of numerous works, including histories of Germany and " Germany Under the Treaty." Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P. (Mr. Winston Churchill's son-in-law), is M.P. for Norwood, and has been taking a prominent part, both in the recent Conservative Party Conference and in Parliament, in opposing the return of Germany's former colonies

WITH the invitation that I would put forward the case (as I see it) for the return to Germany of the colonies of which the Allied Powers dispossessed her at the end of a war consecrated by the pledge of " No annexations," I comply the more readily since for me, having no personal interest whatever in the question, directly or indirectly, the only considerations which count are those of honour, justice, international amity and peace.

1. First for an Englishman should always come the obligation of honour. How is honour involved ? On October 5, 1918, the Berlin Government offered to surrender on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points of January 8, 1918, and his other official peace declarations. After obtaining the acquiescence of Great Britain, France, and the other Allied Powers, Wilson formally signified to Germany the

collective acceptance of that basis, so establishing a solemn contract between the two sides. The fifth of the Points was the stipulation that there should be "a free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims," and that in determining all questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned should have equal weight with "the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined," while another condition was that nothing should be done that would "contravene Germany's legitimate economic aspirations." Nevertheless, as Lansing, Wilson's adviser, wrote later, Germany's rights, titles and aspirations were never once considered. The fact is that as early as 1915 the British and French Governments had decided to annex her colonies.

2. Let me remind the reader that from the middle ages forward the Germans were a colonising people, and that German settlements then established in eastern Europe have continued to the present day. The German tradition of colonisation in the modern sense goes back to the last quarter of the 17th century, when Prussia acquired settlements in West Africa. From the beginning of the last century and for seventy years, however, no nation did so much as the Germans, by their explorers, travellers, and scientists for the opening up of Africa to civilisation.

Peaceably Acquired

3. When at last, early in the 'eighties of that century, Bismarck created the German colonial empire, as we know it, he could claim that no empire was ever more peaceably acquired. While our own consists very largely of the trophies of wars with France, Spain, Holland and Denmark, not one of Germany's colonies was gained at the expense of her European neighbours. Not only did Bismarck, before obtaining territory in Africa, make sure that Great Britain in particular did not claim it, but Germany's titles to most of her territories were later confirmed by treaties with Great Britain, France, Portugal and Belgium, in some cases as the result of territorial bargaining.

4. Never were the colonial spirit of the Germans and their attachment to the colonies so sincere and enthusiastic as today. And why? Because at an incalculable expenditure of effort, treasure, and life, they had brought these territories to so high a level of develop-

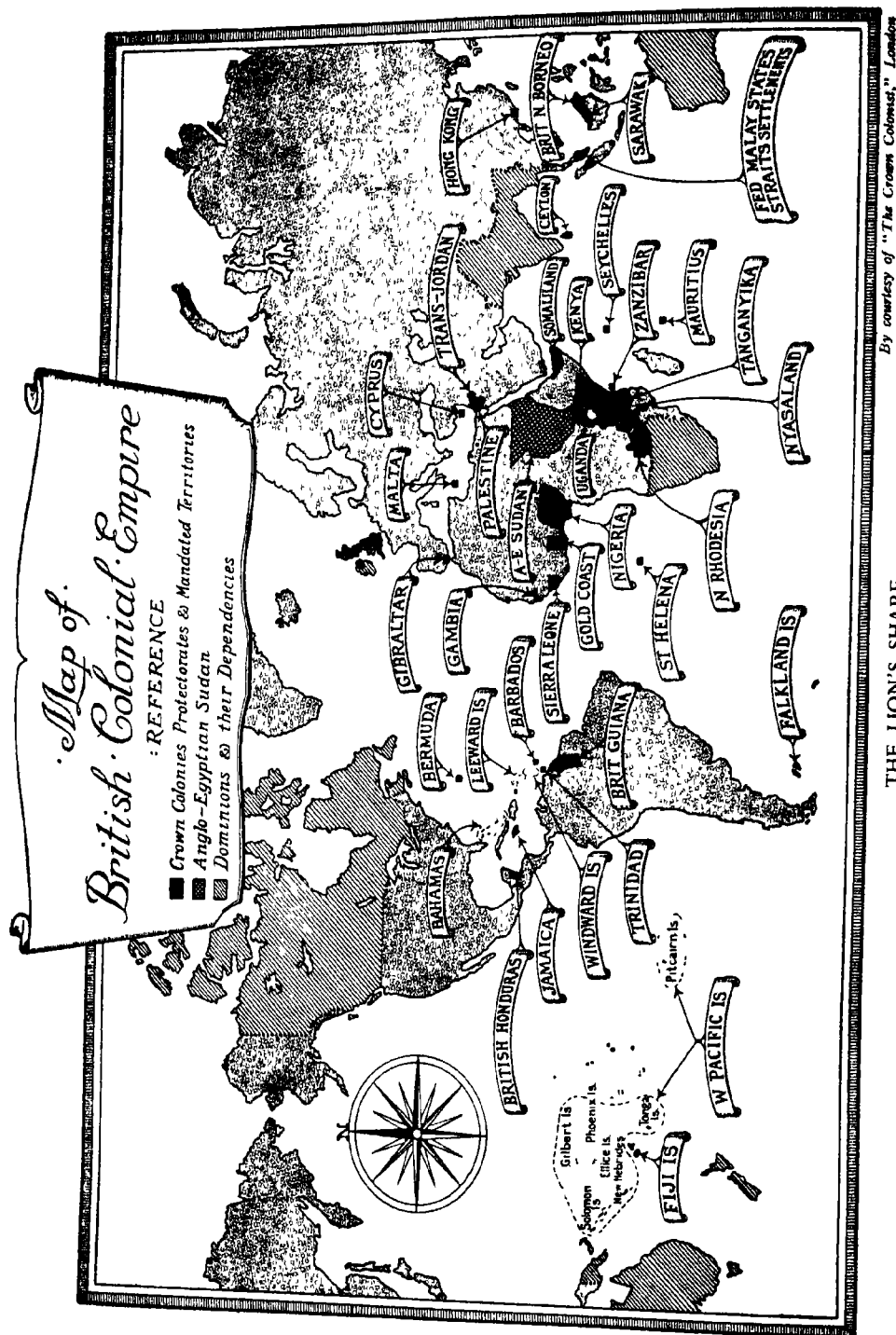
ment ; because of the strong appeal of sentiment and piety, since thousands of German families are bound to the colonies by indissoluble ties with the living and the sacred dead ; because reinstatement is regarded as a matter of national pride and honour, and as essential to the attainment, after the long years of humiliation, of full national sovereignty ; and because the commercial and industrial prosperity of their country is no less, if not more, conditioned by the possession of tropical territories than is that of England or France, Belgium or Portugal.

Need for Outlet

5. For the moment the need of outlets owing to pressure of population may not be asserted so strongly as formerly, but that need, too, will have to be faced. Fifty years ago Froude, after travelling round the Empire, wrote of the importance of having " land on which to plant families where they can thrive and multiply." That is also Germany's claim, and it will be folly to try to thwart it. It is a significant fact, testifying to the unchanging attachment of the original German settlers to their colonies, that so many have gone back to them and begun life again. For example, although driven out of East Africa after the war, and only allowed to return in 1926, within the succeeding seven years the number of German landed proprietors had exceeded that of the English (502 against 494). It is impossible to contend that Tanganyika could ever be in any true sense of the word a British colony. So it is with the Cameroons, Togoland, and other territories.

6. If Germany does not need her million square miles of oversea empire as before—which is only as much as little Belgium and backward Portugal possess—how in the name of reason and justice can Great Britain claim the right to an empire comprising one-quarter of the globe, and the other five or six colonial Powers to a further eighth between them ? Such an attitude cannot be better described than in Disraeli's phrase as " an irrational and outrageous selfism." And this at a time when the English race of pioneers seems to have died out, and when our people cannot be persuaded even by subsidies to migrate to the Dominions, while Germans are more eager than ever to colonise, though no longer willing to do it for other countries.

THE LION'S SHARE

By courtesy of "The Crown Colonist," London

The Colonial Empire comprises 3,000,000 square miles, with a population of over 60,000,000 people. Counting in the self-governing Dominions and India, Britain's Empire covers a quarter of the Earth.

7. That German colonial administration had proved conspicuously efficient and successful is testified by numberless witnesses of authority, and until a malign war propaganda—from which no belligerent country was free—poisoned public opinion, there had never been any suggestion to the contrary. Not only did representatives of the Foreign Office periodically report with admiration of the work done and the progress made, but tributes came from Cecil Rhodes, Theodore Roosevelt, Sir J. S. Keltie, the geographer, Sir Harry Johnston, the traveller, Sir Charles Eliot, the British African administrator, and one, as late as January, 1914, from Viscount Milner in a speech made at the Royal Colonial Institute. Writing in 1911, the American traveller, E. A. Forbes, said: "Of all the lords of Africa the German has the cleanest hands." Further, approaching the question from the humanitarian standpoint, the Rev. J. H. Harris, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Association (whom I take to be identical with Sir John Harris who so severely indicts British colonial administration in an article from the *Contemporary Review*, quoted in the January issue of this REVIEW) was so impressed by Germany's administration that in his book *Dawn in Darkest Africa* he proposed the transfer to her of the entire French and Belgian Congo regions. Yet in 1919 just the opposite of this took place! Germany does not ask for French or Belgian or British colonies, but only that she shall have back her own.

Lies Exposed

8. Here I would earnestly ask those of my readers who are honestly concerned to know the facts of German colonial administration, as told by a man of unequalled authority and unimpeachable character, to read the book entitled *German Colonisation Past and Future* (Allen & Unwin) by Dr. H. Schnee—well known, I believe, to many members of the House of Commons—who, after being a high official in the German Colonial Office, earned as Governor of German East Africa the respect and confidence of the native population there in a remarkable degree. Primarily the book is an impressive exposure, moderately stated but backed throughout by proofs, of a notorious British Bluebook, as malicious as it was mendacious, which was published in 1918, and of which General Hertzog, the South African Prime Minister, said in 1924 that he "doubted whether anyone believed it,"

and that it was "one of many war pamphlets that had gone into oblivion or soon would do."

9. Dr. Schnee's book is more than an exposure, however, for it contains a broad survey of the work done by Germany in the domain of native welfare, and an inspiring story it is. No other Power has excelled, even if equalled, her record in the province of tropical therapy and hygiene generally. It is a singular tribute to that work that when the Treaty of Versailles was being drawn up English writers urged our Government to require Germany, as one of the penalties to be imposed on her, to communicate to other countries the pathological discoveries made by her scientists and practitioners! Today, when the public conscience is more than ever alive to the obligations due to the child nations of the world, German capacity and practical co-operation are imperiously needed, and to refuse her claim to resume her earlier beneficent work as a colonial Power would be a wrong done not only to a great nation but to all the neglected and derelict races of mankind.

Germany as Britain's Friend

10. Much might be said altogether in Germany's favour on the loyal attitude of the native populations in her colonies during the war and on their attitude to the new custodians, but I must use my remaining space in meeting the common objections advanced to the return of the colonies. Most of them proceed from the assumption that to return them would be to endanger the British Empire. That assumption is unjustified and ungenerous and a plea of the proverbial "red herring" type. I confess to great impatience with this petty and un-English fear and jealousy of Germany. A great imperialist like Joseph Chamberlain was above it, for when in 1885 the same angry protests were raised against Germany's first colonial endeavours he scornfully disowned them as "humiliating" and compared them to "the pettish outcry of frightened children." The British Empire will have the whole world on its side so long as it stands boldly for justice, equality of opportunity, and righteousness. Our greatest and only real enemies are narrowness, selfishness, and arrogance in ourselves. Her colonies returned, Germany in particular would prove a steadfast friend.

11. It has also been objected that if Germany were to have back her colonies she would exclude the trade of other countries. Not only

does the objection come with a bad grace from us, seeing that the territories of the Empire are being more and more closed to the rest of the world, but again Germany never did it in the past, and it is unjustifiable to conclude that she would do it in the future, but there would have to be a fair reciprocity.

Denaturalised Citizens

12. A further objection is the alleged injustice of placing British subjects under German jurisdiction, and its hollowness is obvious. A host of British subjects were in that position before the war and they never complained or had cause for complaint, since all Europeans, of whatever nationality, enjoyed equal treatment in the German colonies. Down to the eve of the war our Government was negotiating a colonial agreement with Germany which would have similarly changed the political status of subjects of both nations, and since the war the British Government has transferred territory to Italy and Belgium. One wonders whether those who use this specious argument have ever given a thought to the fact that the German settlers in East and West Africa, New Guinea, and other mandated territories which fell to Great Britain were cruelly dispossessed of their property and ejected from these territories, to which later they could only return as aliens, or yet of millions of Germans who were denaturalised and in large part impoverished in Europe by the Treaty of Versailles.

An Underhand Design

13. To take one further objection, equally without substance : it is contended that once a mandate has been conferred it cannot be renounced. It is true that the Covenant of the League of Nations makes no express provision for transfer, but it is not forbidden, even by implication. What is more to the point is the fact that already the British Government has twice renounced mandated territory, of course with the sanction of the League of Nations. It was done first in the case of Ruanda and Urundi, parts of German East Africa, which it transferred to Belgium in 1923, and recently in the case of Iraq. Let me add that it is not to our credit as a nation that ever since the mandate for Tanganyika was entrusted to this country our Government has tried so to " wangle " it as to secure the inclusion of the territory in a solid British East African dominion. Not only has Germany strongly protested against this rather underhand design,

but the League of Nations has made clear its disapproval of it and is watching it closely.

Generosity Pays

"Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice," said President Wilson in 1917, and the warning is equally true and urgent today, when, after nearly twenty years of a peace that is merely a truce, all Europe is feverishly accumulating armaments in preparation for another war. Once more I would appeal to the men who direct British foreign policy to show themselves superior to fear, distrust, and false pride, and get rid of this one obstacle to reconciliation with Germany, meeting her claims gracefully and generously, and so meriting and receiving the gratitude and confidence of a nation to which we have done a great wrong. For in the long run generosity pays always, blessing him who gives no less than him who takes, but selfishness never. In 1905 and again in 1911 we risked war with Germany in our desire to secure Morocco for France, who had no title to it Shall we risk war again with the same Power rather than renounce territory still hers by moral right?

I cannot end better than with an extract from a letter which reached me some weeks ago from a Swedish admirer of England. "I have met people in Stockholm," the writer says, "who have said, 'Thank God that England exists.' I have also met others who speak of 'English hypocrisy' with a shrug. *The Times* has recently paid special attention to the Scandinavian countries, and the Poet Laureate has been sent over to make way for English thought and literature. But I do not think any such forms of propaganda could have the effect that a clear English policy of treaty revision and a more equitable distribution of colonies would have."

DOUBTFUL COMPLIMENT

COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT says he considers President de Valera one of the world's leading statesmen

What we want to know now is, is that a compliment?—*Dublin Opinion.*

LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR

BECAUSE the Graces are Catholic and the Byerses Protestants the wedding is being held in the riding academy.—*New York World Telegram.*

THE REPLY

by DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P.

IN the preceding article Mr. W. H Dawson has presented Germany's case for the return of her former colonies. I have been asked to reply to his arguments from the British point of view.

As there is apt to be some misconception in regard to the exact legal status of mandated territories it is well to make this clear at the outset. Under Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles Germany ceded outright all her colonial possessions, not as is sometimes suggested to the League of Nations, but to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. The latter subsequently entrusted, or as it was termed "mandated," to certain of their number the rights and responsibilities of administering these territories in the interests of the native inhabitants. The most generally accepted view is that complete sovereignty passed to the Power to whom the territory was allocated, though it is conceivably possible to argue that a shadowy residue of sovereignty is still possessed by all the Allied Powers together. Be that as it may, one thing is certain. The latter having never, either jointly or singly, ceded the territories to the League, no vestige of sovereignty can possibly reside in the League any more than in Germany.

Referring to the legal position Mr. Dawson writes : "To take one further objection, equally without substance ; it is contended that once a mandate has been conferred it cannot be renounced." Who has ever contended that? There is obviously no international agreement which cannot be amended with the consent of the signatories. However, as Mr. Dawson only puts up this ninepin in order to display the dexterity with which he can knock it down, I shall not quarrel with him in principle, though it is necessary to point out that the two examples he quotes are wholly inapplicable to the case under discussion. The allocation of Ruanda and Urundi to Belgium cannot have constituted a renunciation of a mandate since it took place not in 1923, as is suggested, but in May, 1919, a month before even the Covenant was signed, and three years before the mandates system was finally established. Likewise the conferment of independent sovereign status upon Iraq cannot conceivably be advanced as an example of the renunciation of a mandate by one power in favour of

another. It represents not the renunciation but on the contrary the final fulfilment of our mandatory obligations towards the Iraqi people.

Mr. Dawson suggests that it was under false pretences that Germany was induced to surrender in October, 1918, on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, the fifth of which was that " in determining all questions of colonial sovereignty the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the claims of the government whose title was to be determined." Surely it is clear where the emphasis in those words lies ? There is no justification for reading into them any intention of prejudging the ultimate settlement one way or the other. They represent no more and no less than the enunciation of the principle that in any redistribution of colonial territories the welfare of the inhabitants should be regarded as being every bit as important as the rights and claims of the European Powers. The Allies fully implemented the spirit of this undertaking by subsequently pledging themselves to administer the conquered territories in accordance with certain enlightened principles of government laid down by themselves in the form of a mandatory code and, as a further proof of the sincerity of their intentions, to render a regular report to the League. If it is true that the German Government did misinterpret the meaning of this phrase it is regrettable, though of little practical consequence ; for everybody knows that it was not the hope of favourable terms but the prospect of certain defeat in the field coupled with revolution at home which decided Germany to sue for peace.

What are Germany's Needs ?

The preceding article contains an admirable survey of the early history of German colonisation. Mr. Dawson might, however, have recalled to us that Bismarck all along doubted the wisdom of German colonial expansion and frequently voiced his misgivings as to the possible consequences. Likewise the present German Chancellor in his book *Mein Kampf* expressed his unequivocal opposition to the resuscitation of the old imperial colonial policy. It was not until last September that Herr Hitler, inferring from the hesitant attitude of the British Government that colonies were to be had for the asking, was persuaded to champion the colonial cause in the hopes of an easy diplomatic victory.

Why does Germany want or need these colonies? Surely it is upon the answer to that question that the entire German case must stand or fall? Yet Mr. Dawson is content to dispose of this whole matter in a short paragraph and a half of generalities. I shall not quarrel with him over "Sentiment and piety," "Pride and Honour," or "the indissoluble ties with the living and the sacred dead." However, his bald assertion that the possession of colonies is "essential to the attainment of full national sovereignty" would, it seems, have merited some elucidation. If that were true there would indeed be few sovereign states in the world.

In fairness to the Germans it must be admitted that Mr. Dawson hardly does justice to the economic aspect of their case, which he dismisses with a single cursory remark.

Access to Raw Materials

The principal German argument, reiterated again and again by Herr Hitler, Dr. Schacht and Dr. Goebbels, but to which Mr. Dawson makes no allusion, is of course the need of access to raw materials.

This argument entirely overlooks the fact that colonies and raw materials are two entirely separate problems and that no more than 10 per cent. of the world's raw materials come from colonial territories. Moreover, it implies the suggestion that the colonial powers are guilty of cornering raw materials to the detriment of those other countries who do not possess colonies. In actual fact the position is exactly the reverse. Our anxious concern is not how to prevent other countries from obtaining the raw materials we produce, but how to induce them to buy more. There is no tariff or any other form of discrimination against Germany. She has exactly the same facilities for buying raw materials from her former colonies as we have ourselves. If that is pointed out to the Germans they usually fall back upon a second argument, namely, currency difficulties. It might be supposed that they were unable to obtain the necessary British currency with which to buy raw materials from our mandated territories. Official statistics, however, tell exactly the opposite story. The trade returns for 1935, the last year for which figures are available, show that with Tanganyika, the only ex-German territory of any importance held by Great Britain, Germany in fact had a favourable balance. In other words, she has actually been taking British currency out of the territory and spending it elsewhere.

The next argument which Mr. Dawson advances is Germany's need for an outlet for her surplus population. Does he seriously imagine that in semi-tropical African territories Germany is going to find " land on which to plant families where they can thrive and multiply "? Before the War all the German colonies together only managed to absorb some twenty thousand white people, rather less than one-third of the population of either Oxford or Cambridge. The reason was that the climatic conditions in those territories are not suitable for large white populations—and that is something which even Herr Hitler and Mr. Dawson together would not be able to alter.

Having examined the German arguments we should surely not be thought guilty of any impropriety were we to consider for a moment how the transfer of these territories would affect us. From the economic angle the loss to Great Britain would be as insignificant as the gain to Germany. On the other hand, from the military standpoint the danger would be incalculable. Tanganyika in foreign hands would weaken the strategic unity of the whole British Empire. It would interrupt the continuity of British territory along the air route from the Cape to Egypt. A foreign submarine base at Dar-es-Salaam might endanger our lines of sea communication with India, Australia and the Far East. Inevitably our present defence programme would have to be immeasurably expanded and the already crushing burden of taxation further increased. The only compensation which we received for the tragic sacrifice, which we were called upon to make in the Great War, was a slight measure of added security in Africa and the Near East We can hardly be blamed for hesitating to exchange it for further paper assurances.

The Interests of the Natives

All these considerations are important, but there is one last consideration which over-rides all others. It is the interests and welfare of the inhabitants for whom we have accepted guardianship. The writer of the preceding article is at pains to point out the shortcomings of British administration, whilst lavish in his praise of the German colonial record. We should nevertheless do well not to confine our research to the few carefully selected publications recommended by Mr. Dawson. A wealth of documentary evidence is available and those who, like myself, are loth to indulge in invidious

comparisons, can with confidence leave the student to form his own opinion. Suffice it to say that the attitudes of Britain and Germany—more particularly present-day Germany—towards political, religious and racial questions differ profoundly from one another.

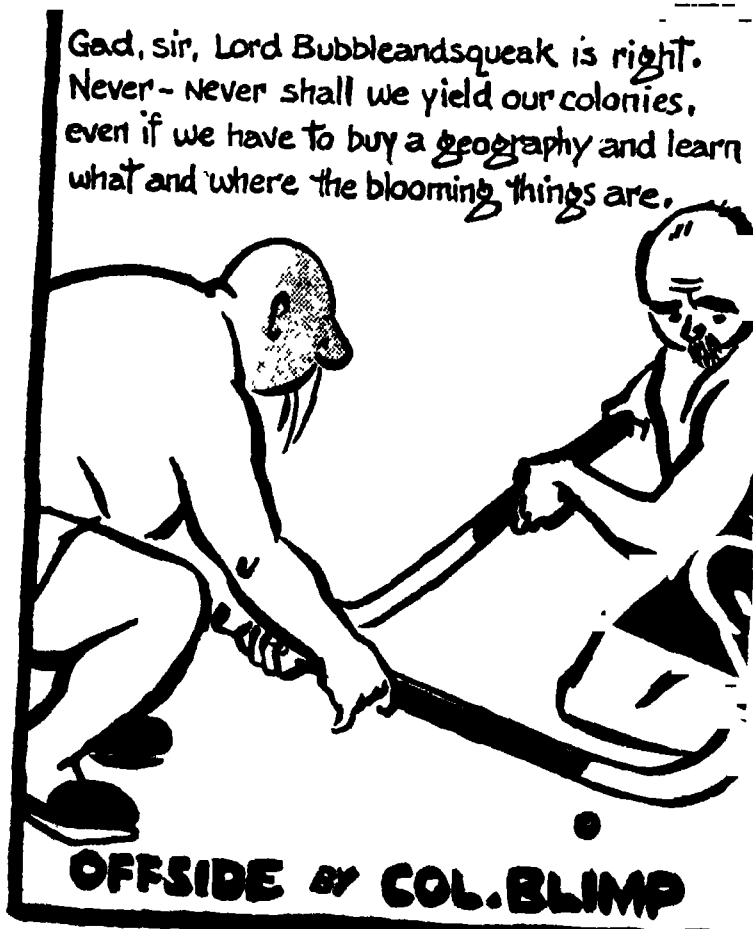
In considering the question of transfer we have to ask ourselves one simple question: "Are we sure that the inhabitants would be as well cared for under German rule as they are under the protection of the British flag ? " Unless we can be certain of that, it would surely be both cowardly and dishonourable to abdicate the responsibilities which we have assumed towards these backward peoples.

It is strange that Mr. Dawson does not devote a single sentence to show in what way it would benefit the natives to be transferred back to German rule and to justify the disturbance and dislocation which such a change would inevitably involve. He seems entirely to overlook the fact that the mandated territories have now been under their new rulers for some twenty-two years, almost as long and in some cases even longer than the lifetime of the previous German administration.

No " Buying " Safety

This is essentially an African and an Asiatic problem, yet Mr. Dawson's point of view, with its insistence upon rights as opposed to obligations, is purely a European one. Africa is to him just a field for " territorial bargaining " and its native populations mere pawns in the European game. His outlook is, in fact, that of the nineteenth century, not that of the twentieth. He says that : " Her colonies restored, Germany would prove a steadfast friend." In return for Germany's friendship we offer her ours. Is that not enough ? Is our friendship of less value than hers ? Must colonies be thrown in as a make-weight ? Mr. Dawson goes on to ask : " Shall we risk war, rather than renounce territory ?" That almost savours of a threat. Can it be seriously suggested that we should seek to *buy* our safety—not even at our own expense, but at the expense of defenceless African peoples whom we have pledged ourselves to protect ? Britain's attitude towards her responsibilities has never been and, let us hope, never will be dictated by fear.

The gist of Mr. Dawson's case amounts to a tearful plea of : " It ain't fair ! " He relies exclusively on an appeal to what might be termed " historic justice." He takes up his stand on the *status*

quo of 1914. The only reason he gives why the colonies should be returned to Germany is that they formerly belonged to Germany. If we accept that principle, why limit it to Africa? Why not restore the 1914 map of Europe? Apart from the Scandinavian and Iberian peninsulas, there are only three countries, Holland, Switzerland and Luxemburg, whose boundaries are the same as they were before the War. In fact why stop at 1914? Why not revert to the Peace Settlement of Vienna of 1815 or to that of Utrecht of a hundred years before? Why not give Canada back to France? For that matter why not restore England to Denmark or to Rome? As a historian, Mr. Dawson ought really to know better than base his case upon such a fallacious argument.

COLONEL BLIMP ON COLONIES

Colonel Blimp, the most famous creation of Britain's most famous cartoonist, as usual, hits the nail on the head

Low, "Evening Standard," London

HANDS OFF ! ~

A WARNING FROM FRANCE

by AIMÉ BERTHOD

(*Prominent French Radical Senator and former Minister*)

From " La Dépêche de Toulouse "

FRENCH opinion has taken the German demand for colonies very quietly. It feels no doubt that these demands are of more immediate concern to other States which received a larger part of the former German possessions, and in the first instance to the British Commonwealth.

We ought not, however, to speak too lightly of the part played by the territories of Togoland and the Cameroons—particularly by the latter, the mandate for which was shared between England and ourselves.

We fear that many Frenchmen, even some of the best educated, still persist, despite the efforts made in the last few years to inculcate in them a spirit of empire, in regarding our colonies in the same way

as those ancestors of ours who spoke of Canada as only " a few acres of snow."

But it is our conviction that our position in the world—like England's in the last three centuries—depends more and more on the fate of our overseas possessions and of our African dominions in particular. Only thus can we remain a great Power, able to influence the future by our actions.

France's Future Overseas

We ought, therefore, to adapt our foreign policy to these new conditions. If we find this difficult, it must be because all our diplomatic traditions hark back to the time when France, supreme in Europe through the size of her population and justly proud of her armies, made Europe the almost exclusive centre of her activities and her ambitions. But it can no longer be so. Our overseas dominions open up a new future for us.

For a time the Treaty of Versailles was able to conceal this fact by placing our soldiers in Cologne and Mainz once more, and by making us the policemen of Europe from the Baltic to the Danube and the Ægean. This mistake is no longer permissible. But to return to the Cameroons. Take a glance at the map. It will not show the remarkable advance made under our flag by our administrators, engineers and doctors. But it will show you that the French Cameroons, quite apart from their intrinsic value, are, through Yaunde and Duala, the natural outlet for the vast territories which we have developed around Lake Chad and the Shari river, and that this route is of the first importance for French Equatorial Africa.

Another, and very grave, conclusion to be deduced from these facts is that to return the Cameroons to Germany, with or without the additional territory ceded her at our expense after the Agadir crisis, would mean the revival of the vast plans for an African Empire which Germany then conceived. She regarded the Cameroons, with its feelers extending into the Congo, as the nucleus of the huge Empire of which Germans dreamt, which, linking up with German Equatorial Africa and Portuguese Africa on the other side of the Belgian Congo and, beyond Angola, with German South West, would contain some of the richest regions of the Dark Continent.

History is beginning anew.

We see this new beginning of history, with a more direct threat to us, in that part of Africa between Moulouya and Cape Juby where in the years before the War German diplomacy, helped by its business men and adventurers, so brutally thrust itself at our side in Morocco, on the Riff and in the Souss, hoping not only to exploit its wealth but also to use it as a base against us and, when the time came, to destroy by propaganda and force of arms our supremacy in the whole of North Africa.

This was a vital question if ever there was one. From Algeciras (1905) to Agadir (1911) it was the main preoccupation and the daily worry of all our foreign ministers ; several times it jeopardised peace, and must be reckoned among the events which brought us to the final catastrophe.

We cannot but feel anxiety when we once more see German vessels cruising off Tetuan and harbouring in the Canaries, German troops and engineers taking charge in Ceuta, Melilla and the Spanish zone.

At the time of the Abd-el-Krim rising Germany was behind the rebels. Among those who financed the rising were there not old acquaintances such as Mannesmann, known before 1914 for his intrigues in the whole of Morocco ? And is it not thoughts of Morocco rather than of Spain which have induced the Führer to send battalions and his hastily constructed battle fleet to the aid of Franco ?

Our country has in Morocco much more than in Central Africa important interests, nay, *vital* interests. Our pre-War diplomacy never forgot this. It gave nothing essential away. Its persistent efforts made possible our magnificent achievements in Northern Africa through the Moroccan Protectorate.

And if tomorrow we are to enter on conversations with our formidable adversary it would be well to think of the past and this example.

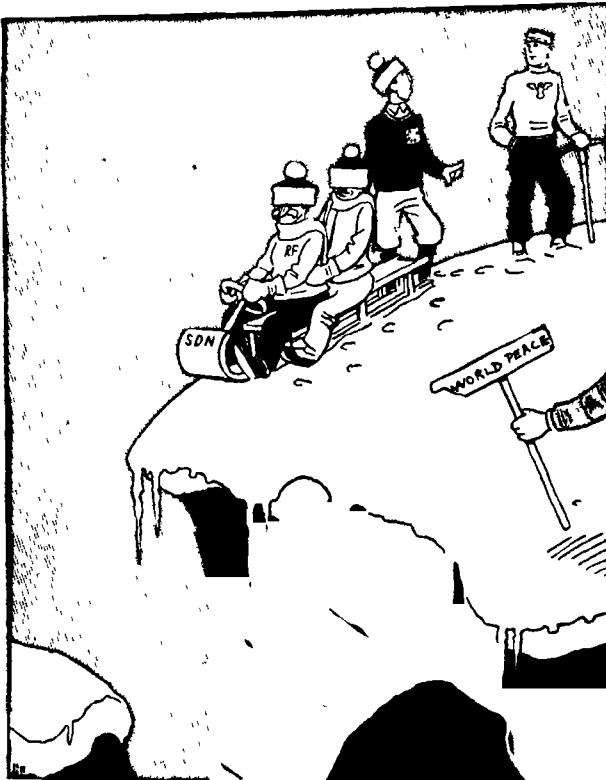
PORTUGAL BANGS THE DOOR

From " Diario de Noticias," Lisbon

THE *Times* recently published a letter from Sir Claud Russell, late Ambassador of Great Britain in Portugal, and late British representative on the Inter-Allied Financial Committee, on the question of German colonial aspirations.

The author is of the opinion that there can be no question of the restitution to Germany of her old colonies. "England," he proposes, "should give up to Germany part of Western Nigeria, with an outlet to the sea, forming part of the mandatory zone adjoining the frontier of the colonies. France should give up a portion of the Cameroons. Belgium a part of the Congo, and Portugal a part of Angola with an outlet to the mouth of the Congo River. A solution of this nature would be possible if Great Britain decided to set the example. In all the regions in question Germany would enjoy the most complete sovereignty."

Only as a fantasy form of an idle moment could one admit the possibility of Sir Claud Russell's opinions.

Hitler's declaration to the effect that Germany has not the *slightest colonial* demands on any nations, except those which retain her old colonies, is the one which, perhaps above all others, stands out in his important speech.

EDEN'S LAST WORD (to Germany): "Either you come with us, or you'll see where you're stranded"

"Das Schwarze Korps," Berlin

Only a few weeks separate us from the insidious rumour of the disembarkation of German troops in the Spanish Zone of Morocco—a rumour put into circulation by the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs of France, Viénot, in the absence of his superior, with the most dangerous object of provoking a war against Germany in Moscow's favour. Months have not yet passed since the " lie factory," which in certain centres of Communist influence is working full time, spread the vile rumour to the effect that, should Portugal not capitulate at the orders of the " sovietism " of Valencia and Barcelona, England would " give (*sic*) the Portuguese colonies to Poland and Germany." A week has barely passed since the Portuguese Government denied the news of a supposed renting of Angola to Germany.

The Führer's declaration was, then, living and glowing. All the information we received was unanimous, not only in foreseeing that the German Government would make it exactly in the terms uttered, but in guaranteeing that it should represent a true decision on the part of Berlin, which would dispose of all the calculated fabrications which, for the last few years, have been issuing from within and without Geneva concerning the Portuguese colonies as pawns in the exchange of dominions.

We must emphasise, however, how unjust it would be were Portugal called upon to supply " compensations " of this nature. We did not possess, at the end of the War, one inch of territory which was not ours by right, and, apart from this, as the Head of the Portuguese Government wrote only a few days ago : " Our constitutional laws do not permit of such a thing, and, in the absence of such laws, the national conscience would not permit it. . . . We will not sell, we will not give up, we will not lease, we will not share our colonies."

EMPTY AUSTRALIA

A Defence

by F. W. EGGLESTON

From " Pacific Affairs," Camden, New Jersey, U.S.A.

THINKERS throughout the world are rightly concerned about the maladjustment of world populations to resources. British ecclesiastics in particular, in vicarious agonies of conscience, are

reproaching Australia for not filling its vacant spaces. Their views, as I shall show, are based on a complete misconception both of Australia's growth and its resources, and an ignorance of the general principles of population. Japan is one of the most densely populated countries in the world, but its leaders are much better informed. They have been studying population problems to some purpose and appear to understand perfectly well the impossibility of relieving the Japanese problem by migration. Nevertheless, it is desirable for an Australian to state in a magazine devoted to the Pacific region the real situation of Australia so far as the problem of population is concerned.

Handicap of Drought

There is, first, no restriction on the voluntary immigration into Australia of British people, and very little restriction on white aliens. The recent decline of immigration into Australia is due to the economic situation, which has hit primary producing countries very hard. Government assistance to British migration has been limited because of unemployment, but is not entirely stopped. Settlement schemes have been discontinued because of the enormous losses incurred. Furthermore, the potentialities of Australia for population are enormously exaggerated. A maximum of 30 million* is estimated by the best authorities. The attainment of even this figure would involve a lowering of present standards. One-half the continent is as much a desert as the Sahara, and one-third has no settled population at all, the rainfall being about five inches. The remainder of the continent may be divided into two types. One is a large strip with a rainfall of between 10 and 20 inches. This may be classed as semi-arid, and is used for wheat and wool production quite successfully. I do not think that in any part of the world such semi-arid country produces so much wealth, but this country can only be settled in large holdings, and the population is not numerous and never can be. The climatic variations are violent and droughts are frequent. Large-scale capitalistic organisation with reserves for dry periods is necessary for successful settlement. It may be said generally that the semi-arid country of Australia is better settled than similar areas in the United States of America. The other type is a narrow coastal strip in the

* Australia's present population is 6½ million.

south-east and east and a small corner of the south-west. Here the rainfall is from 30 to 35 inches, but much of the land is mountainous and incapable of cultivation. The total area in Australia available for cultivation is probably not more than 200,000 square miles, or about twice that of Great Britain. Its potential population is considerably less than Britain's would be if the latter depended mainly on agriculture.

Rapidly Growing Population

Australia has during a long period increased its population at as great a rate as almost any country in the world. One of the most rapid increases was from 1919 to 1928, but this was too rapid and led to distress and reaction. Australia has doubled its population every 35 years, and if it continues at this rate it will reach its maximum population in about the year 2010. There are very definite limits to the rate at which population can develop. Each accretion needs more capital, more organisation and more public works. Money must be borrowed and spent in advance of settlement. The introduction of loan money causes booms, and these cause reactions. Australia is suffering at present from such a setback, the chief cause of which was the attempt to introduce too many immigrants in the previous decade.

An increase of population of two per cent. per annum or twenty per thousand is really very large. Even the United States has seldom surpassed this figure. This rate of twenty per thousand has been made up by a natural increase of fifteen per thousand and a migration rate of five per thousand. The natural increase must, of course, be provided for first, and the balance of five per thousand has represented the economic potentialities for immigration. The birth rate and the natural increase rate have fallen very much during the last five years. This is probably temporary, and due to the depression. But if it fell to ten per thousand the migration rate might go up from five to ten per thousand if the rate of total development could be maintained. It is doubtful whether it can be continued for long. Immigrants are more difficult to provide for than natural increase, and I do not think Australia could possibly accommodate more than 50,000 immigrants per annum even if the birth rate remained low. If the natural increase rose to the former figures the total immigration might be only 30,000.

The possibility for immigration into Australia must, therefore, be placed at between 30,000 and 50,000 per annum in times of prosperity. This figure is a mere bagatelle in relation to the problem of population adjustment which the critics assume. The most potent obstacle to emigration from Great Britain to Australia is that with living standards in Great Britain so near those in Australia there is no inducement to migrate. Wages have fallen more in Australia than in Britain and social services in Britain are more lavish than they are in Australia. A migrant, therefore, has less security in Australia than at home. At the present time migration from the European continent is far greater than from Britain. If the vacant space of Australia could be settled on a peasant economy, there would be room for a large population, but semi-arid areas cannot be developed in this way, and even in the areas of higher rainfall peasant agriculture is difficult because of the isolation and lack of markets.

The idea that the country which is most vacant can take the largest population in a short period is a fallacy. The earlier stages of exploiting undeveloped territory are slow and difficult. Canada took 200 years to get a population of 70,000. It is the total available resources which count.

What About Other Countries?

Other countries present far greater opportunities. It has been estimated that the United States could feed 320 millions from its own resources. It has now about 130 millions. The Argentine has many times the resources of Australia. The area of good soil and heavy rainfall is about five times greater than in Australia. The area now under irrigation is at least four times the total of the land that could be irrigated in Australia Other South American countries can be similarly developed. Australia is favoured because it is a British country with stable institutions and a free democratic regime.

Greater population, finally, is not essential for the defence of Australia. Australia derives most of its high standards from exports of wool and wheat, but though interruption of its sea-borne trade would make Australia poorer, it could not ensure defeat. Vacant spaces are the most difficult to attack; Australia can defend the settled areas.

What I have said in this article is mainly an answer to European

critics, but the same reasoning applies to the crowded countries of the Orient. Australia has taken a definite stand against the migration of races which it does not believe could be assimilated to its own culture and economic standard. This does not involve any reflection upon the civilisation of these races or upon their social qualities. One of the features of present-day world unrest is the conflict of national and racial types. For some reason, it seems impossible for people of very different racial types to mix together under the same political institutions. The cause of this, in my opinion, is the growth of democracy, a very intimate form of government which requires a homogeneous people. Self-government requires that the people should understand one another and on all great fundamental questions should be in very close agreement as to the principles that are required.

Danger of Race Struggles

Fundamental differences involve conflict. Each racial section regards its ethos as a most precious possessio ı and it would regard government by people of another set of ideals as a negation of self-government. Each would struggle for the mastery of its own culture. The result would be hostility and in turn a struggle. Such a struggle would defeat the very aims of the democratic government ; and it is far better for the communities to split up into small homogeneous political units than to attempt government of large units where there are radical differences between sections of the people. The state of the continent of Europe today is sufficient confirmation of these arguments. These are the reasons which have dictated restriction of the immigration of orientals into Australia. It is easy to realise that a sparsely settled country, a country which can *only* be settled very sparsely, is very much more vulnerable to the disintegrating effect of racial differences.

But if the White Australia policy is justified on these grounds there is no justification for economic discrimination. The densely populated countries of the world must either find some process of population adjustment or be able to rely on obtaining the raw materials and the markets they need all over the world.

RADIO COURTESIES AT SEA

From an article by Oscar E. Millard on the work of the North Foreland radio station in the "Passing Show," London

A BELGIAN ship in the Channel was trying to contact a sister ship nearly out of range. The signals of the distant ship were faint and were being constantly jammed by another ship close to the Belgian vessel. For some reason the Belgian operator thought the interfering signals came from the nearby British coast station. After several vain attempts to receive the message which the distant vessel wished to communicate, the exasperated Belgian operator called the British coast station and tapped out the blunt command: "Shut up, bloddy Englishman!"

Now the coast operator had not transmitted a word for at least half an hour, and he felt much as a point-duty policeman would feel if someone deliberately knocked off his helmet. Temporarily speechless with indignation, and not knowing off-hand the number of the regulation that requires wireless operators to speak like little gentlemen, he merely acknowledged the insulting message and made no comment.

The effect could not have been greater if he had transmitted a threat to report the Belgian, as he was entitled to do. For the Belgian, on hearing the coast station's signals, realised at once by their difference in strength from those which were causing the interference, that he had made a bad mistake, insulting a British station without the slightest cause. He immediately became apologetic.

"Monsieur," he signalled, "I make a mistake. Is it excused?"

The coast operator ignored him.

After a pause the Belgian repeated: "Monsieur, I am sorry, I make a mistake. Please say if it is excused."

Still the coast station remained silent, and a third time the ship's operator apologised: "Monsieur, I am very, very sorry. It was a mistake. Please say it is forgiven."

You could almost see the tears in his eyes, and finally the station operator, who had a sense of humour, emerged from his indignant silence. Affecting to misunderstand the reason for the apology, he replied: "Don't worry, son. The correct spelling is with two O's and only one D, but I understood you."

WHITE ISLANDS IN A BLACK SEA ~

UNITE OR PERISH

by OSWALD PIROW

(*South African Minister of Defence and Communications*)

From the "Europäische Revue," Berlin

The Hon. Oswald Pirow is a forceful writer and speaker with outspoken and decided views on the necessity for the perpetual, if enlightened, subjection of the black races in Africa. For a young man he already has an important post in the South African Government, and is expected to play still bigger rôles in the future. As he here shows, he believes his country to be the natural leader of all Africa south of the Equator.

DRAW a line right through Africa along the southern edge of the Sahara, add to the land north of that line the territories of the Sudan and Abyssinia (this must be done for political reasons), and the African Continent is divided into two fairly equal parts. I do not think that even the most ambitious South African can conceive a time when our influence in the territories north of this line will be very important. If we take a glance at the west coast down as far as Angola, we find that the territories there are, without exception, climatically unsuitable for permanent settlement by white populations. The west coast is a part of Africa which belongs, and always will belong, to the black men, immaterial of the European Power to which he may owe allegiance. Any interests we may have will never go beyond the trade connections which we may be able to build up in competition with European countries.

Thus we are turned towards those parts of Africa south of the equator, excluding French Equatorial Africa in the west and including Kenya (British East Africa) and Uganda in the east. In the last-named territory we have a very definite interest, and it is no exaggeration to say that it is equally vital for the future of these territories as for us that we should work together in the greatest possible harmony. If we remember that the greater part of the land in this part of Africa is able to support a large white population, although much of it is as unhealthy as the west coast, then the community of

interests with the Union, the largest White State in Africa, immediately becomes obvious.

So far there has not been much communication between the Union and those territories which are suitable for a white population. Until quite recently even London and Cape Town were nearer one another than Pretoria and Salisbury, the capital of our nearest neighbour. Now, all this is changing.

The White Man's Claims

Of the problems we (*i e*, the Union and its northern neighbours) have in common, the most important is the solution of the Native question. If the white man does not succeed in so regulating the relationship between himself and the negro that the demands of European civilisation are once and for all time decisive, then the idea of a large, settled white population in South Africa is an illusion.

In general, there are two views about the relations between White and Black in Africa. One stands for a policy of equality, which concedes to the negro, in the last analysis, full economic, political and social equality with the European. The other demands a policy of differential treatment, which gives the blacks the unqualified right to develop under our trusteeship, to the fullest extent of which they are capable and according to their own inclinations—a policy which pledges the white man to support the native in this development, but withholds from the native for all time social and political equality with the European.

The latter view is that of the Union. It is, in my view, the policy which will in the end have to be accepted, with or without alterations, by all our northern neighbours. The permanent white populations of these territories to-day reject, with very few exceptions, the idea of equality between Black and White. It is true that a few of the Governments concerned incline, at least in theory, to the policy of equality, but in the last resort it is not Governments and officials, but the men and women who have settled permanently in Africa, who determine Africa's Native policy. To those whose own future, as well as their children's, lies here, and not overseas, it is quite clear that the political equality of the natives must inevitably be followed by social equality, and that this can have but one outcome—the end of the white race.

If the solution of the native question is the most important of the common problems which lie before us, the next is the question of national defence. Even if an attack on one of these territories by an external enemy is still only a very remote possibility, it does not need a great deal of imagination to conceive that such an attack, say by an Asiatic Power, would jeopardise the common ideal of all white civilisation to such an extent that other lands would have no alternative but to step in.

A Common Peril

To this must be added the further fact, that the white communities south of the Sahara are white islands in a vast black sea and will probably always remain so. On principle, we cannot allow even one of these white islands to be swallowed up by the black sea. The little that we in the Union have seen of the effect of communist propaganda on the negro, brings the danger of a common attack on the white minority into the field of future practical politics, though perhaps not in the near future.

The dangerous possibilities inherent in these internal and external difficulties ought to be enough to draw us closer together in questions of national defence, irrespective of events in Europe.

While native policy and national defence take precedence among our common problems, other tasks await us which are hardly less important.

Of these, I should like to take the question of communications, especially the problems of transport by land, air and water. Only a short time ago a South African Transport Conference was held in Johannesburg, at which all the States I have dealt with were fully represented. All agreed on a concerted plan of action, which in course of time will ripen into a cordial agreement far exceeding any mere neighbourly feeling.

Before we discussed transport questions, conferences had already been held on health, locusts and other pests which afflict our agriculture, as well as on the question of a common administration of postal and telegraph services.

In fact, as new points of contact arise, we are all beginning to realise the inescapable fact that we are dependent on one another, not only in matters affecting our daily life and the economic advance-

ment of our territories, but in our very existence or non-existence as white communities. This is a fact which the European countries, to which we owe allegiance or with which we are connected in some other way, will perhaps not realise for a long time.

In Europe some white States may be able to afford to fight each other—but in Africa the whites will disappear very speedily if they do not hold together. The responsibility of the Union is very great, but it is a responsibility which we are prepared to assume.

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

by J. E. HOLLOWAY

From the "Europäische Revue," Berlin

In our January issue we quoted strong criticism of Britain's and South Africa's treatment of their black subjects and promised to give the other side. Here it is, by a South African, writing in a special African number of a German review

THE South African Union is one of the few countries in the world where intensive colonisation by Europeans has not led to the complete extermination of non-European inhabitants. On the contrary, it is very probable that at no time before the arrival of the whites was there so large a non-European population as today, although obviously there can be no statistical proof for this assertion. This assertion holds good neither for the Hottentots nor for the Bushmen. The number of pure-blooded survivors of these two races is to-day very small.

Brief mention must be made of the Indian population of the country which consists mostly of descendants of recruited foreign workers.

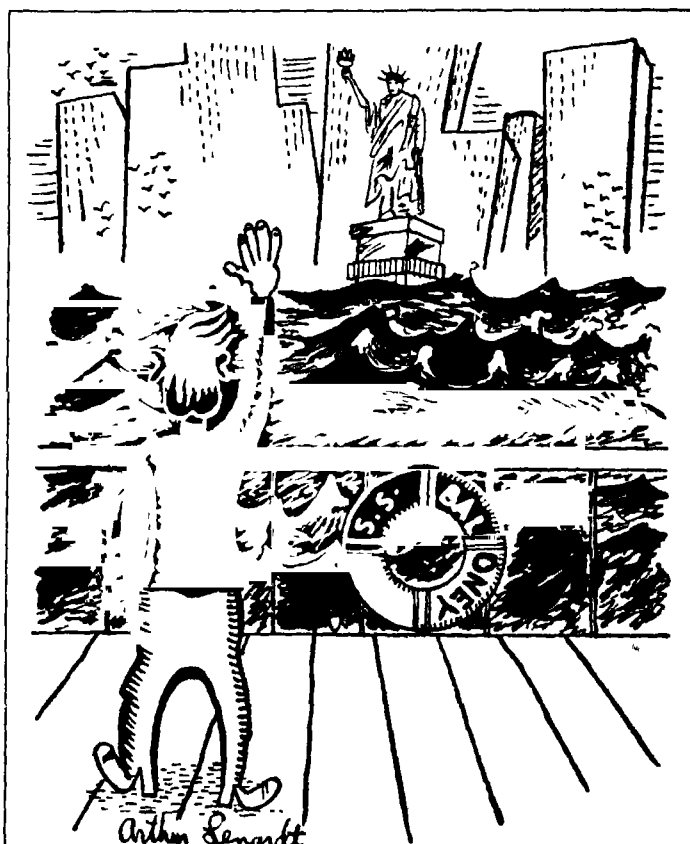
In South Africa a sharp distinction is made between the coloured people found mostly in the west of Cape Province and the so-called "natives" to whom belong the black Bantu tribes. The coloured people are a mixed breed. Any tribal organisation the descendants of the aboriginal Hottentots may have possessed has long since disappeared. They live like Europeans, only on a lower level. They mostly speak Afrikaans. They have, at any rate in Cape Province, the same political rights as Europeans; they belong to coloured congregations of the same Christian churches and their outlook on life approximates more to the European's than to the Bantu's.

The Colour Problem, from the South African point of view, is predominantly the problem of the attitude of the whites to the Bantu people.

From the 1936 census the following provisional figures have emerged :—

Europeans	1,979,390
Asiatics	215,529
Natives	6,529,784
Coloured	755,282
TOTAL	9,479,985

Since the last census in 1921 the native population has increased by 39 per cent. (compared with a white increase of 30.27 per cent.). This increase must be attributed to circumstances other than natural growth. Even if the census of 1921 outdid all previous ones in

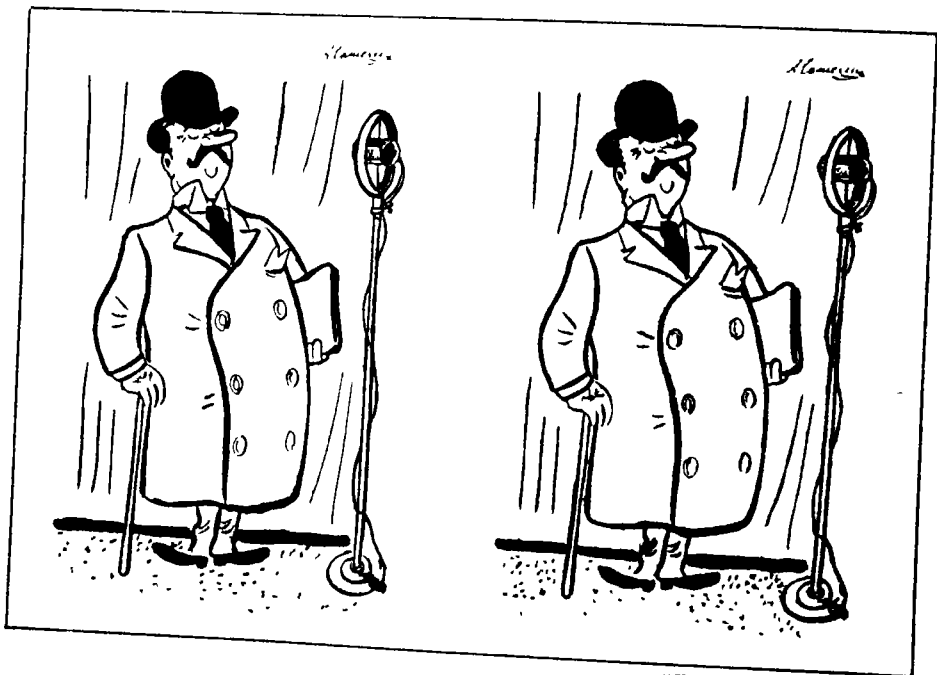
The Fascist Who Forgot Himself

"*Plebs*," London

accuracy, it was still further improved in 1936 and part of the increase must be ascribed to this improvement. Immigration, too, played a not unimportant part. Native workers are always emigrating in large numbers from neighbouring territories into the Union, and the recent boom in the gold-mining industry has furthered this tendency. On the other hand, European immigration into the Union is small, amounting only to a few thousand annually.

If then it is still not true that Europeans in the country have become a "perpetually diminishing minority," yet it is a fact of tremendous importance for the problem of racial settlement that they are in a minority of 1 to 3 to the blacks.

The Gulf Between

On one side stand the whites as heirs of everything which European civilisation has achieved in the spheres of religion and morality, thought and institutions, culture and technique. Their social order

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

INTELLIGENT ADVERTISING, OR BEHIND THE SCENES

"To keep the skin fragrant, and the mouth fresh, renew your Subscription to the Radio News'!"

"Chic women, to complete your toilet never go out without Balvani cheeselets."

is based on the individual, their politics are democratic, their organisation capitalistic, and the social structure monogamous. On the other side are the Bantus, representatives of a primitive culture, with their ancestor-worship, belief in magic, simple and undeveloped economic system and reactionary cattle-keeping methods. The basis of their social order is blood-relationship, their politics are hierarchical, their social structure polygamous and their economic system communistic. Even if too great emphasis must not be laid on these differences, especially when it is remembered that many of their less deeply-rooted institutions have in part ceased to exist owing to European influence, yet the contrast is sharp enough to make the problem of assimilating these two grades of civilisation a very difficult one. And when the numerical ratio of White to Black is taken into account, the position is even more difficult for the white man.

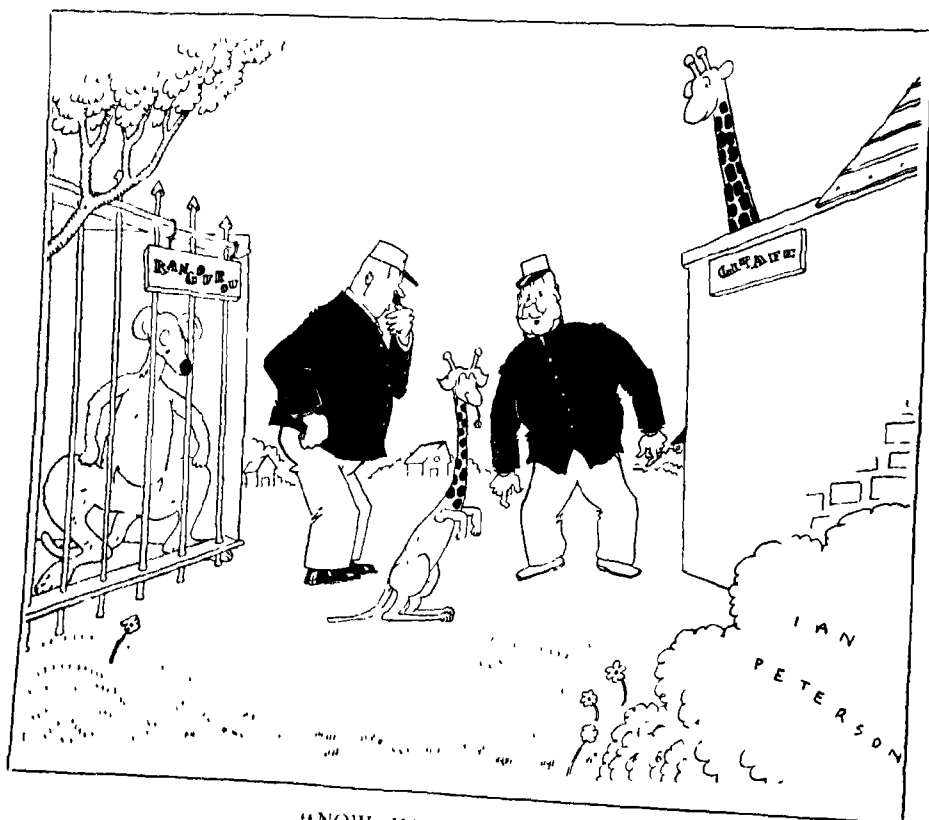
Should the white man, in a spirit of toleration and freedom from prejudice, open up the paths of progress to the members of the Bantu race who are capable of entering them? Should he, in the spirit of individualism, concede to the Bantus the possibility of free competition in all spheres of public activity? If he does, will he not have reason to fear that his culture will be stifled by the mere numerical supremacy of upward-struggling masses? Or that his descendants will be delivered over to miscegenation?

Whatever different opinions there may be of the fundamental problems of racial relationship there is no one who would be prepared—permanently and without reserve—to support the view that the relations between black and white ought to advance unhindered towards complete equality. Those who insist most strongly that there should be no colour bar in politics or industry are the most persistent in urging that colour should be taken into account when it comes to supplying natives with alcohol, recruiting blacks for military service, or settling the right of the individual to possess property in the native compounds.

The position of the Bantus who have raised themselves to a European cultural level is an awkward complication. Here the two prevailing opinions separate fundamentally.

The opinion of the so-called "Cape School" has developed under the influence of the liberal conception of native questions which prevailed in 19th century England, when the Cape was still a British

colony. The first Constitution of the Cape did not leave any doubt that there was to be no colour bar in politics.

In the two earlier republics, in the predominantly British colony of Natal and in parts of Cape Province, the view was widely held that natives ought to be treated as a subject race. This is the basic idea of the "Northern School," which maintains that the position of the natives must be one not of citizens but of minors. One of the leading supporters of this school says : "Trusteeship means in our view the material, social, moral and physical advancement of the natives." Generally speaking, this school wishes all natives, civilised or not, to be treated as a group apart. Politically, this side demands that civilised natives should not be reckoned as part of the European electorate but as members of the totality of native peoples. In this way they believe they can lessen the danger of the natives

"NOW, HOW ON EARTH—" *"Marianne," Paris*

politically driving the Europeans up against the wall by mere voting superiority.

Up to the present this school has been the more influential, and the introduction into the Union of a native policy such as is embodied in the two laws of 1936 is a considerable victory for them. Their leader is the Prime Minister, General Hertzog.

Under the " Representation of Natives' Act " of 1936, those natives in the Cape Province who are qualified to vote, elect, in electorates separated from those of the Europeans, three Europeans to a House of Assembly 153 strong, and two to the Provincial Council of Cape Province, which has 63 members. The natives in the other provinces are not represented in either body, but are qualified, like the natives in Cape Province, to elect four Europeans to a Senate of 44. Apart from this representation in Parliament the Act provides for a Council to represent the natives, composed of 16 natives and six European officials from the Department of Native Administration. It is the task of this Council to advise Parliament and the Provincial Councils in matters affecting the wellbeing of the natives.

Division of Land

In the years 1903-05 a large Committee investigated the native question in all South African colonies. At that time " Kaffir farming " was widespread ; under this system a European was allowed to buy land and hire it out to natives for cultivation. The Committee condemned this system in the following terms : " Such a system is fatal to both races, since on the one hand it perpetuates the widespread evil of absentee landlordship, and on the other hand prevents the rise of the native owing to the uncertainty of the tenancy." Gradually it was decided to divide the land into European and Native districts, and the " Natives' Land Act " of 1913 forbids the sale of the land of one race to members of the other race. When this Act became law it was intended to enlarge the native protectorates, and various attempts were made to do so. But tremendous differences of opinion on the political aspect of the native question rendered these efforts vain.

In 1932 the " Native Economic Commission " reported that the native protectorates were full, that as a result they were deteriorating economically and that a native flight from the land was the inevitable

consequence. Under the "Native Trust and Land Act" of 1936 a board of trustees for the natives was set up which was given power to buy 7,250,000 morgen (about 14½ million acres) for native settlement. The money required is to be voted from time to time by Parliament.

The fundamental separation of natives and Europeans in respect of landed property was introduced into the towns by the "Natives Urban Areas Act" (1923). Natives must live in segregated native quarters unless they are put up by their employers.

In the special quarters of towns reserved to them the natives are called upon to govern themselves. In many districts, particularly in Zululand and the northern Transvaal, the chiefs still exercise a great deal of power. In other districts native councils, helped by white officials, carry out a certain amount of self-government.

There is an even sharper separation between Black and White in the social sphere. Natives may not live in European hotels nor visit European theatres. On railways they travel in special coaches. They have their schools and their own Native Academy.

The best elements in both races are against miscegenation, and even though mixed marriages do sometimes take place, the total number of offspring of marriages between Bantus and Whites is very small. By the "Immorality Act" of 1927 illegal intercourse is a serious crime, punishable by imprisonment. Marriages between whites and natives are not illegal, but in two of the four provinces there is no office to register such marriages. Whites married to natives are ostracised in European circles.

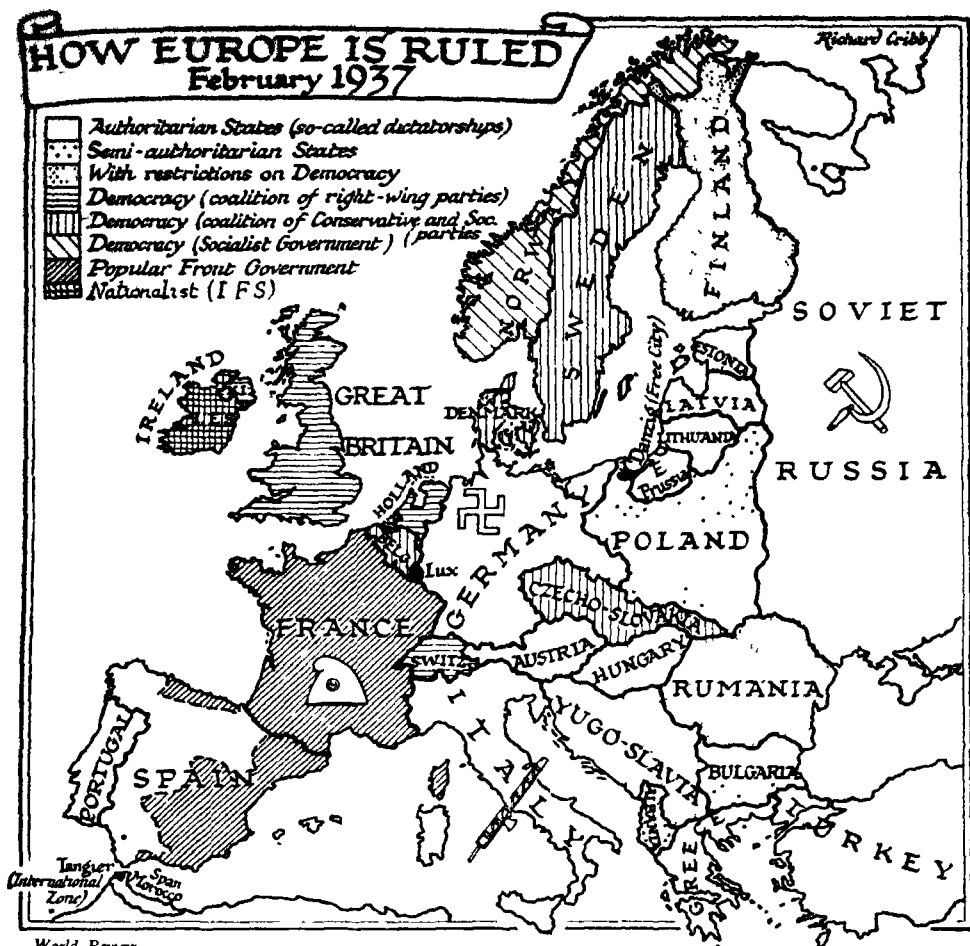
It is on such a basis that relations between White and Black are carried on in public affairs.

CHEAP DEFENCE

SOUTH-WEST Africa, 325,000 square miles in extent, a country that would be of great strategic importance in any attack on the Union, spends £25 a year on defence.

The only arms, apart from rifles, officially in the country for military purposes, are six machine guns and two Lewis guns belonging to the police force, which consists of six European officers, 216 non-commissioned officers and 164 native constables The natives are neither armed nor trained in arms.

South-West Africa is only five hours' flying time from Roberts Heights or Capetown.—*Sunday Express*, Johannesburg.

World Review

BRITISH EMPIRE'S LATEST ACQUISITION

NEWS of the discovery (of layers 40 miles above the earth affecting wireless waves), which is one of the most important in recent years, was given to the Royal Society by Mr. R. A Watson Watt, Superintendent of the Bawdsey Research Station of the Air Ministry.

"American workers have discovered the new layers, too," said Mr. Watt in an interview, "but we were first, which makes the new regions British."—*News-Chronicle*, London.

VITAL STATISTICS

ACCORDING to statistics prepared by an official of a safety razor company, there are 15,000,000 shavers in the British Isles, who every day shave off a growth of 250 inches of hair from each of 15,000,000 faces. Thus each week the shaving males of the United Kingdom remove from themselves no fewer than 350,000 miles of hair. If all the facial areas thus disafforested were laid side by side it is estimated that they would cover an area of 125 acres.—*Christian Science Monitor*, Boston.

BUFFER STATES

OPTIMISM IN THE BALTIC

From a special correspondent in Riga of the "Algemeen Handelsblad," Amsterdam

Together with Poland, the Baltic States share the unenviable distinction of forming the buffer between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. The serious consequences for them of a conflict between these two powerful States have served to draw them closer together. At the same time, as the following article shows, there is a growing conviction that the Russo-German hostility is not so deep-seated as it appears

THE axis of peace in Europe is formed by the countries which separate Germany and Russia. That is the opinion which is gaining ground among the citizens of Eastern Europe. The Governments and peoples of the buffer-States have no illusions as to their position in the event of an armed conflict. They know that their existence is at stake in a possible struggle between Germany and Russia, no matter which side they adopt and whatever might be the outcome of the war. There can be no question of remaining neutral, as the belligerent countries could only approach one another over the territories of the buffer-States. True, the opinion in Government circles is that neither of the powerful neighbours has any immediate intention of attacking the other, contenting themselves for the time being with invective hurled across the divide. But what will the future bring?

For a long time military reorganisation has been one of the most conspicuous characteristics of bolshevism in Russia. The Soviet constitution fixed the strength of the Russian standing army at 562,000 men, but since 1933 this figure has been already twice modified. First the contingent was increased to 940,000 men, later on to 1,300,000 men. In August, 1936, the age for military service was lowered from 21 to 19 years. According, therefore, to this estimate, 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 men wear the uniform of the Red Army and the reserves are practically inexhaustible. Marshal Voroshilov, the Commissar of War, declared several times after the

manoeuvres last summer that the Red Army was "actually prepared for war"—for defensive war, should the enemy commence the attack. Each time the Marshal added significantly that, once begun, the war would be carried to a conclusion on the enemy's territory.

The enemy which Russia has in mind is naturally Germany. Over two years ago preparations for war began behind the Russian frontier. When Hitler came into power in Germany, the uneasiness on the Russian plains was distressingly great. If war had broken out then, there would assuredly have been a revolt behind the Russian lines. Moscow at once scented the danger and alleviated the regime on the steppes, whilst local patriotism was encouraged by the motto "Love for the Fatherland." A new constitution, officially called a "charter of liberty," was drawn up.

In the border States all this is looked upon as preparation for a war. Although Russia now has a very strong army on the Western frontier, it is constantly being reinforced. As on the other side of the frontier, the German army is being strengthened; in the border States the question is continually being asked whether, and even when, one of the two armies will cease to be on the defensive and will invade the buffer-States in order to reach the foe. The statements of the responsible leaders in Moscow are not particularly enlightening : on the one hand it is said that war with Germany is immediately threatening and inevitable, and on the other hand it is announced that the Red Army is so strong that nobody in the world would be so rash as to attack it. It is always emphasised that the Red Army will never be used for aggression. From Germany also come similar announcements of peaceable, defensive plans, but, hitherto, with less emphasis. However, it is generally believed that the German army is still less prepared for a war of aggression than the Russian. The German army would put up a good show against an attacking Russian force but not until 1938 can it be ready to invade Russia with any chance of success.

War Not Inevitable

There are many people, not only in Russia and abroad, but also in the neighbouring States who believe, or say they believe, that a war between Germany and Russia is inevitable, because the Third Reich intends to stamp out communism. Although this opinion is

well supported by what one hears from Germany, it is not considered on the whole to be the correct one in the capitals of the border States. Although Germans may not find it pleasant, it is a fact that the number of points of agreement between the earlier periods of Bolshevist Russia and the Third Reich is surprisingly great. The Nazi Party in Germany, just as the Communist Party in Russia, has no very convincing majority. Moreover, the Nazi Party is not homogeneous and it has not such a definite doctrine as Communism has. The German nation was unanimous for obtaining national equality and rearmament. National equality it has obtained, and as to rearmament, it has nothing to complain of. The oppressive burden on the taxpayer and the sacrifices in order to reach the goal have rather dulled the brilliance of Germany's new "freedom." New slogans have to be invented, or old ones repeated with more force. The former has not occurred, although the latter has : the standard of the anti-Communist crusade was once more raised Nuremberg was devised to re-awaken the German people, but the effect in the border States was not very considerable since so many similar explosions have been heard, both from Germany and from Russia.

Nobody, then, in the border States attached very much importance to the international significance of the Nuremberg speeches, neither was anything more dangerous expected than verbal abuse ; in fact, it seemed that the speeches were chiefly intended for home consumption. Official expert observers in Russia and in the border States do not pretend to believe that Germany, without aid, will be able to attack Russia for a few years. Where is Germany to find allies for an undertaking fraught with so much risk? The Baltic States certainly do not even consider it, and Poland would not be particularly anxious for a war on her territory. It is also very doubtful whether Japan alone could be a decisive factor to the detriment of Russia.

Fear Banished

At the moment, therefore, the Baltic States are not very perturbed as to the possibility of a well-planned attack by Germany on Russia, although the military value of the Franco-Russian pact is regarded here as doubtful Many think that the pact is more in the nature of a wedge between Germany and Russia than a bond between France and Russia.

The Baltic States also consider that the violent shouting matches between Germany and Russia were promoted and controlled by the Governments and are not necessarily a permanent factor in the relations between the two countries. Common economic interests are at present breaching the artificial wall of hatred, which but a few months ago appeared totally impenetrable.

Meanwhile, the possibility of an armed conflict between Germany and Russia is at the present moment apparent, and should civil war break out or be induced in one of the buffer-States, hostilities between Germany and Russia could, by a " natural " process, develop from it. This danger is amply illustrated in Spain. It is unnecessary to say how important for the peace of Europe is peace in the States between Germany and Russia, and how carefully the situation there must be watched, lest opportunity for dissatisfaction occur, which could be fanned into flame.

BALTIC STATES UNITE

From the " Berliner Tageblatt "

SINCE the signing of the Baltic Pact in 1934 the three Baltic States (Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania) have achieved an ever closer unity in their foreign relations ; but in domestic affairs, divergent and sometimes opposing tendencies have recently developed. In the spring of 1934 the parliamentary democracy of both Esthonia and Latvia was replaced by an authoritarian system. But in outward appearance the authoritarianism of Latvia is quite different from the Esthonian system.

This month (February) a two-chamber National Assembly is to meet in Esthonia with the object of forming a new constitution. This will be a blend of authoritarian, democratic and corporative principles of government. Of the two chambers of the Esthonian National Assembly the first is elected by universal and direct suffrage in a secret ballot. The second chamber, on the other hand, is to consist of representatives of self-governing units, professional chambers and various other public institutions.

Whilst Esthonia is beginning to return to a modified form of bicameral parliamentary democracy, the authoritarian system in

Latvia is of quite a different nature. For the time being there are no elected governing bodies. All power is in the hands of the decidedly authoritarian government of the present Latvian Premier, Ulmanis.

The difference in the constitutions of Esthonia and Latvia is less the result of philosophic theories than of the divergent nature of internal conditions. In Esthonia the present authoritarian government has succeeded in giving the whole people an inner unity and in securing the support of a large majority of the population. But in Latvia the Opposition parties are so strong that a return to a representative system of government would be fraught with danger.

There is also a very marked difference between the attitudes adopted by Esthonia and Latvia to their subject nationalities. Esthonia, even after the establishment of an authoritarian system, still recognises the vital rights of the non-Esthonian groups, and has invited the German group to participate actively in the reconstruction of the State by appointing a representative of the Institute of Cultural Autonomy The Government in Latvia, on the other hand, is trying to mould together all non-Latvian groups into a unified Latvian Nation-State, a process which is causing the German group serious concern.

Distrust of the Soviets

These differences have not stood in the way of the close co-operation of the Baltic States in foreign affairs. This co-operation is most obvious in the united attitude adopted towards the Soviet Union. Though Esthonia, since the attempted Communist *coup* in Reval (Tallinn), in 1924, has pursued a cautious attitude towards the Soviet Union, Latvia and more especially Lithuania were a few years ago not disinclined to co-operate closely with the Soviet. Recently, however, there has been a change. The idea of a pact between the Baltic States and the Soviet Union seems finally to have been laid to rest. And ever since the notorious speech of Schdanov at the Moscow Party Congress (on Communist activities in the Baltic States) all three States have been filled with distrust of the Soviet and have made it their aim to follow a strictly neutral course in foreign policy, and to avoid all one-sided commitments.

FAMOUS AUTHORS BATTLE

What Came of a Visit to Russia

by LION FEUCHTWANGER

From "Pravda," Moscow

M. André Gide, the famous French author, proclaimed himself a Communist, and was invited to Russia. What he saw there he did not altogether like, and he said as much in a booklet on his return, to the annoyance of the Soviet Russians. His chief objection was to the standardisation of intellect, and to the lack of liberty which, he said, while allowing criticism of detail, forbids all question of the main principle. Here another well-known author, the German Jew, Lion Feuchtwanger, replies to his charges

WHEN André Gide, after a visit to the depths of Africa, proclaimed himself to be a Communist, his statement on that occasion was primarily a matter of aesthetics, a fit of sentimentality on the part of an emotional writer whose nerves had been shaken by the sufferings of the exploited Congo Negroes. In the Soviet Union his references to Communism, his outpourings in the beautiful book on his journey to Africa, were accepted as something which had political significance. Actually, this was never so. Gide's *Communism* was not a result of logical reasoning. His embracing of Communism was a matter of sentiment ; it was only an accident that he did not at that time come out in favour of Catholicism. He could just as easily have come to Jesus and Mary as to Marx and Lenin.

Besides, Gide undoubtedly went to the Soviet Union with a number of misconceptions. He misunderstood the draft of the Soviet Constitution and confused the genuine democracy to which the U.S.S.R. has come with the formal democracy of the Western European countries. He was therefore deeply disappointed when he failed to find in the Soviet Union freedom of opinion and of the Press in the Western sense. He was undoubtedly sorely upset when he saw that the Soviet people had no intention of replacing their Socialism by the parliamentarism of West-European coinage.

André Gide went to the U.S.S.R. as a Parisian with a refined taste, a scoffer, extremely self-centred, who regarded Paris as the natural centre of the world. He viewed without the least bit of sympathetic interest the great things one can see in the Soviet Union ; however, his attention and interest were drawn to some petty tastelessness which can indisputably be found here. Just as the French for a long time refused to recognise the greatness of Shakespeare, constantly accusing him of tastelessness and barbarism and at best recognising him to be only a brilliant savage, just so did Gide's captious eye see in the Soviet Union petty defects, tastelessness, a lack of comforts. But he did not see the great, lofty planned development of the whole.

As regards Gide's more serious charges, he first of all bitterly criticises the "deification" of Stalin It is true in the Soviet Union Stalin is so exceptionally honoured that it appears strange to a Western European. But if we look deeper, it becomes clear that this extraordinary manifestation of esteem applies to Stalin not as an individual

OLD BOLSHEVIK PLOTTERS SHOT

Lenin "Thank God I died in time!"

"Popolo d'Italia," Rome

Stalin: "Are there any Bolsheviks of November 1917 who have not yet been shot?"—"Yes! You!"

"Il Merlo," Rome

but as a representative of Socialism. This esteem of Stalin is not an artificial thing ; it has grown together with the results of the building of Socialism. The people are grateful to Stalin for the bread and meat, for the order and education and for the defence of all this by the creation of an army. The people say " Stalin," and mean by it their greater well-being, the growing education. The people say " We love Stalin," and this is a natural human expression of their adherence to Socialism and its regime.

Gide further mocks the Stakhanov methods. He believes that only the " indolence " of the Russians has made these methods necessary. Does not a mere glance at the results achieved in the Soviet Union testify to the fact that work is performed here with much greater love than anywhere else ? Could such results be achieved by means of compulsion ? Does not an acquaintance with any factory or any house in Moscow prove that the people approve the intensiveness of labour demanded from them ? Is it surprising that a country which adheres to the principle—from each according to his ability, to each according to his work—that this country seeks to raise its productivity by means of piece-work and rationalisation ? Do not Gide's assertions about the alleged " indolence " of the Russian peoples prove rather his own conceit, his own whimsicality, his lack of a sense of reality and his ill will ?

Gide speaks at great length about the " regimentation of souls " in the Soviet Union, about the growing " levelling." He forgets that a totally new culture is being created here, which is only in its initial stage, that a large proportion of the people, its majority, is in a certain sense only learning to read. But the letters of the alphabet, the elementary principles of the individual sciences are the same, they are not individualised. It is wrong to expect and it would be undesirable for anyone who begins to read " A " or " O," to pronounce this " A " or " O " individually as " E " or " U." When they learn to read better here, and this is a matter of a short time, then the laying of greater emphasis on the individual will be permissible.

As for other things, it cannot be denied that greater tolerance in certain spheres is desirable. But does not Gide know that the Soviet Union is faced with a serious menace, that it feels itself to be in a state of war? Does not André Gide know that people here must work like those biblical Jews who built their new temple holding a mason's tool in one hand and a sword in the other? Under these conditions it is not as simple and it is inexpedient to slacken discipline. Gide came to the Soviet Union not as a man who wants to observe without prejudice, but as a surfeited aesthete who yearns for new sensations. He found things not to his taste. This is his private affair. But he made this fact known at a time when the attack on Spain threatens the cause of the struggle for Socialism in France and throughout the world; this was —and even the aesthete Gide ought to have understood that—aid to the enemy, a blow at Socialism, a blow at progress the world over.

By publishing his poor little book just at this time, Gide deprived himself of the right to call himself a Socialist writer.

DECADENT ENGLAND AGAIN?

AN unaccountable lethargy among foxes is given as a reason for the unusually heavy number of kills by the Warwickshire Hunt during the first half of the present season.

" Some of them have not stood up in front of hounds as long as one expected," said Mr. John Lakin, a joint master, yesterday He added that a post-mortem examination of a four-year-old dog fox had been carried out to see whether there was any trace of disease, but the fox was found to be perfectly healthy.—*Sunday Times, London*

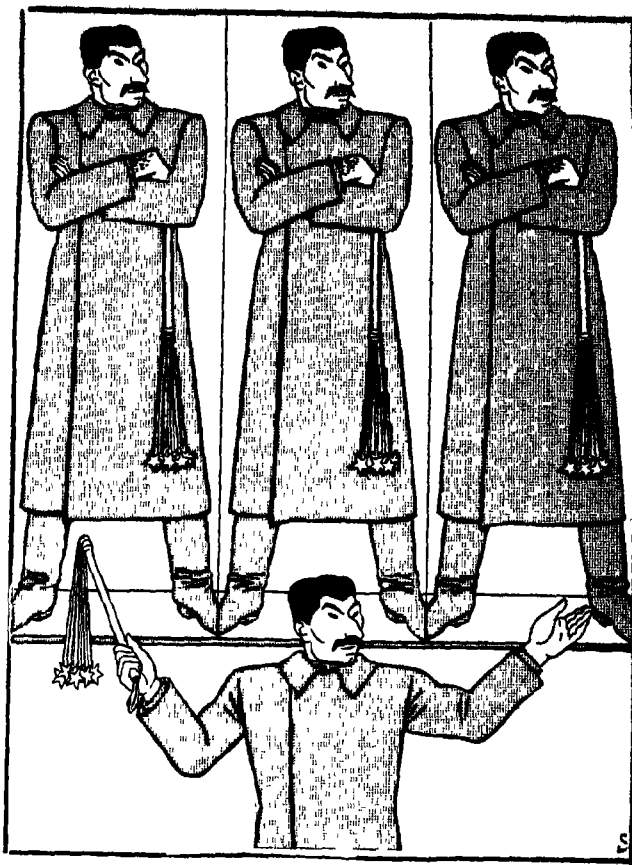
COURT CIRCULAR

" WERE you presented at court when you were in England? "
" Yes, and had to pay five pounds fine " —*Wall Street Journal.*

"WORLD REVOLUTION"
ANDONED ?

THE TRINITY

in : "See ! All completely
erent ! On the left, the Leader
the Comintern ; middle, the
d of the Soviet State ; right,
Head of the Communist Party !
y have nothing to do with each
er ! "

"Simplicissimus," Munich

THE OBSOLETE HUNT OF THE EXTINCT

Low, "Evening Standard," London

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible

WHAT! NO SAGO!

SIR,—I was truly sorry to read that in Russia, which covers one-sixth of the globe and has such millions of deluded inhabitants, Captain Cazalet was unable to obtain either sago or—fly-paper! Whatever is the ruthless Stalin up to?

Delightfully ingenuous too, the Captain, about all those average wages and prices But he omits to say that he uses the rouble's exchange value as against the English £ This is utterly dishonest Had he gone further and found out, as I did, that the rouble, to the Russian worker, is worth about 3d, not 1s, he could then have increased his boots from a modest £8 to £32 What a missed opportunity for a propagandist!

I too was in Russia last summer, and here are some things I saw Russians actually buying the goods in the shops—particularly in Moscow's new Gastronom, as elaborate and well-stocked with food as Fortnum and Mason's! The Metro—every exit differently and strikingly designed—with its palatial stations and up-to-date trains A magnificent performance of *Othello* to a packed and keen audience Hungry people, unable to buy boots, do not pay for theatres! Bookstalls were crowded with eager workers and children Hungry children don't buy books!

I bought things in Government shops without having to wait, and had them wrapped in paper. I saw the large Reading Room of the Lenin Library full of eager students, reading and writing And I saw "colour, contrast and relief" in the Parks of Rest and Culture, where thousands were spending money on enjoyment.

My bags were scarcely looked at in the Customs I went into a Russian Orthodox church full of old people (the young don't bother .). And boots, my dear sir, are scarce in Russia for the very reason that they are bought as soon as made

In some outward respects I agree that Russia appears to the prejudiced observer as "one vast slum," but do our slum-dwellers have (*a*) assured employment? (*b*) paid holidays? (*c*) 7-hour day for all? (*d*) sick pay? (*e*) rest homes? (*f*) universal free education—up to the university? etc, etc

In England the proportions of income are 40,000 to 1, in Russia 15 to 1. Is that capitalism? Class society? Another of the Captain's bogies

A E AUSTIN, B.A

London, S W 17

WE FIND CHAMPIONS

SIR,—The joke is undoubtedly on your Cardiff correspondent, "Regular Reader," who has been shaken from complacency to pepper the February correspondence column with exclamation marks, interspersed with the yellowest criticism one has seen directed against your journal.

Perhaps I should say the hollowest criticism There is a very empty sound in the laugh that mocks at "your holy terrors" and finds consolation in dubbing the representative selection of international writings that you usually put together as "tripe." It would seem that its source is the stomach, not the mind—the laugh, I mean—else how could anyone jeer at a "gout-menaced Colonel" who is none the less "T.T."?

And yet I know at least half a dozen persons who subscribe to or contrive to see WORLD REVIEW because it keeps them *au courant* with international affairs. Three I happened to meet in Malta. They found your journal of high value because, so far from being in a " rut," it struck them as having an objective standing and as providing a medium for conveying ideas which, for a variety of reasons, are touched upon with some restraint by the local press.

Geneva. MICHAEL LANGLEY.

Thank you, Mr. Langley. We have received a large number of nice letters like yours and the extracts below.

Follow Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and even Soviet Russia in patting one's own back for personal achievements and the end will not be far distant. Perhaps "Regular Reader" is an admirer of the above systems

Malta. ANOTHER REGULAR READER

I congratulate you on producing a really good magazine, easily the best of its kind.

CAPTAIN L. GELLATLY
Balerno, Scotland

STILL THANKFUL

SIR,—The Hitler Government started with 6 4 million men and women out of employ, and by October, 1936, had reduced this number to less than 1 1 millions. Of these a large percentage are unemployables who would not have been counted in any of the pre-war statistics.

Wages are not as high everywhere as the Government could wish, but it is trying to maintain a judicious balance between the legitimate requirements of the masses and the truth that capital must produce at least a modest return to its possessors, to prevent it from going into hiding. As a result the incomes of the low-tax classes and of the " monopolists," as your correspondent in your December issue brands them, have risen in about the same proportion during the last three years, a sure sign that all classes are equally benefited.

The Government exerts a gentle, but unmistakable pressure on employers to make the poor man's life worth living, to give the working man security against sudden, and even against arbitrary, dismissal, to get him a paid holiday, and to protect him generally against the tyranny of employers and foremen.

For the really poor the Winter Relief Work has been created and has done marvellous work under the able guidance of Dr. Goebbels. Over £25 million sterling has been collected every year.

Over twenty millions of German working men and women are members of the " Kraft durch Freude " (Strength Through Joy) movement Here we are all workers, whether we earn our living as navvies shovelling a ditch or as owners of a big factory. We all contribute a scaled membership fee, from which the low-income classes derive material benefits of various kinds. They get the chance to indulge in all kinds of sports, can travel anywhere in Germany on a prolonged holiday, and take sea trips in considerable comfort, all for a price every workman can afford.

Your correspondent therefore is a little off the mark, if she thinks that " Hitler would have no power to dictate, had he not the support of the land monopolists backed by the Army." The big landowners count for very little in the new order of things.

And the Army is *the people*, just as much as the working man or the employee represents the people.

R. KIMBARA.

Magdeburg-Buckau.

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

WESTERN DEMOCRACY'S KEYSTONE

THE DESTINY OF FRANCE. By Alexander Werth *Hamish Hamilton* 10*s*. 6*d*

Reviewed by AYLMER VALLANCE

FROM the coalition government of Mr Lloyd George, Britain has passed by relatively easy and peaceful stages to the (to all appearance, pre-war) coalition government of Mr Baldwin France, whose fate—it has been said—is to live dangerously, has travelled further, more violently, in changes of direction from the *Bloc National* of 1919-24 to the *Front Populaire* led today by M Blum This political Pilgrim's Progress of a nation to a journey's end, unhappily precarious and beset with growing dangers from abroad, forms one of the most complicated yet vital chapters of contemporary history In his post-war history of France, Mr Werth, the Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *New Statesman*, has done a magnificent job. He has unravelled with lucid simplicity the tangled threads of French political manoeuvres, from the Treaty of Versailles onwards to the present day, and invested his story with the life, movement and colour of an eye-witness's account of day-to-day events. The result, from the academic historian's point of view, may be "journalism," but it is a journalism in its supremely worth-while form

It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to the scope and shape of Mr. Werth's brilliant book. From the point of view of the internal politics of France, he records fairly and objectively the developments which led, between M Briand's fall in 1922 and the Tardieu-Laval period ten years later, to the crisis of parliamentary government, culminating in the Paris riots of February 6, 1934, the emergence of Fascism as a force in French politics, and the eventual, if possibly transient, triumph of the Popular Front But, overshadowing in international importance these domestic changes of regime, there emerges from Mr Werth's pages the picture of a France gradually losing—partly from her own errors, partly through the cowardice and mistakes of Britain—the European hegemony which she enjoyed for the first decade after the War ; a France robbed of the safeguards of the demilitarised Rhineland, of Locarno, of the League ; a France flung finally into the "collective insecurity" in which every nation is frantically re-arming.

Mr. Werth is essentially a realist. He finds feet of clay in nearly all the popular political idols who appear on his stage ; his criticism is as mordant as it is witty. But his judgments are

sound, his information astonishingly accurate. This is a great book, by a great foreign correspondent.

HOLD TIGHT

CLAMOUR FOR COLONIES, by H. S. Ashton. *Thornton Butterworth.* 8*s*. 6*d*.

MANDATES: REASONS, RESULTS, REMEDIES. By Neil Macaulay. *Methuen.* 6*s*.

Reviewed by B. S. Keeling.

Are Germany's colonial claims justified? Should at least a part of her former Empire be restored to her? To the many English people, who, like the present reviewer, have still not made up their minds on this subject, the present spate of literature concerning colonies and mandates is very welcome.

The two books considered here represent an extreme point of view, similar to that of the Dutch Foreign Minister, who recently declared: "Never, never, will Holland cede one square inch of her territory, even to serve the claims for expansion of other nations." Both are essentially "popular" books written by "practical men."

Mr. Ashton is outspoken. The Italians are "among the most servile of all Europeans," whereas Holland, Denmark and Portugal are "nations of superlative civilisation and/or ancient history or tradition." But in spite of this rather wearisome succession of fireworks, he shows clearly that the economic importance of colonies has been much exaggerated and that nothing seriously impedes "access to colonial raw materials" except shortage of foreign exchange; although on the other hand he argues: "fiddle with the composition of the British Empire and you take the first step towards destruction of the British *entrepôt* trade."

He rightly emphasises that the co-operation of the United States is essential for any real solution of the raw materials problem, but does not mention Mr. Cordell Hull's recent achievements in the matter of tariff reductions or the remarkable fall in the American export surplus in the last two years Yet if the United States at last allows debts to be paid to her in the form of goods, the world economic problem will be more effectively solved than by the £300 million credits which Mr Ashton proposes should be granted by the United States, Great Britain, France and Holland to Germany, Russia, Italy and other "necessitous" nations

Mr Ashton takes all colonies--and a *good deal more* besides—as his subject Mr Macaulay confines his attention to the former German colonies, together with Syria and Palestine, (that "twice promised land," as he nicely observes)

Mandates contains a great deal of slightly haphazard information concerning these territories, particularly as regards Nazi activities in South-West Africa and Tanganyika But towards the end it emerges that "pernicious propagandist papers from Germany" are not Mr Macaulay's sole *bête noire* Apparently "the clamour for German colonies is only another red herring dragged across the trail of financial interests." The real villains of the piece are the "League of International Banksters" and the "world hegemony of Judaeo-Masonry."

Mandates has evidently been written in a hurry. It bristles with small mistakes.

THE UN-PRIVATE LIFE OF A REVOLUTIONARY

THE LETTERS OF LENIN. Translated and edited by Elizabeth Hill and Doris Mudie. *Chapman & Hall.* 15s

Reviewed by R. H. S CROSSMAN

WE know something of what Lenin achieved, but of his private life and thoughts very little has been disclosed. This volume gives us a glimpse at least of the man who was, above all others, responsible for the Bolshevik revolution. We can see him in exile in Siberia, an *emigré* at one time or another in nearly all the capitals of Europe, and finally, President of the Sovnarkom ; we can "listen in" to his conversations with his family, with his few friends and his multitudinous enemies ; and we can hear him thinking aloud those dry, precise memoranda, spiced with withering comments and occasionally with encouragement, which his comrades must have read with such painful anxiety Yes ! *The Letters of Lenin* is a book which must be read.

And yet it is a curiously dull book. Partly, no doubt, this dullness is due to the conditions under which the letters were written. Fear of police detection induces an obscurity of style which degenerates into " code " and the editors have done little to ease the reader's task of detection. But there are other reasons why these letters are heavy going. In the first place, *emigré* revolutionaries are inevitably sectarian and the *emigré* Russian revolutionaries were not only sectarian but verbose. Page follows page of elaborate argumentation and polemic ; and if these were the letters of an unknown X, no one could conceive that this X was to be one of the greatest statesmen of the XXth century. Lenin, in common with all *emigrés*, was sometimes petty and academic. Cut off from the real political and social movements in Russia, he was forced to spend his whole galvanic energies upon theoretical disputation. This fact, by the way, does something to explain the mentality of the Russian Communist regime, which has not yet been able to discard the sectarianism of its pre-revolutionary period. It still acts as Lenin wrote.

In the second place it is clear from these letters that Lenin was first and last a Communist. No private life is displayed in them, simply because there was no private life to display. The whole energy of the man was devoted to the cause for which he lived and died ; apart from it he was a dutiful son, an affectionate husband, a lover of the country ; but all these interests were ruthlessly subordinated to the interests of the revolution. Among the 300 letters, hardly one has a genuinely personal touch ; they are documents of the Russian revolution, and nothing more. As such, they would have been

infinitely more interesting had the editors taken their task more seriously and set them in their full historical context. In their present form many of them are almost unintelligible to the lay reader unversed in Marxist controversy.

All the same, I recommend them ; and I would call the attention of hurried readers to page 477. There, in the last letter, is the only joke which Lenin allowed himself It is a good one

NOT FOREIGNERS TO THEMSELVES

FOREIGNERS AREN'T FOOLS By Christopher Hollis *Longmans* 5*s*.

Reviewed by CHRISTOPHER SIDGWICK

MR CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS, I understand, worked for an economic commission in the United States and then returned to England on a liner carrying a number of intelligent foreigners, whom he instantly engaged in serious talk

The trouble, of course, about foreigners is that they are not foreign to themselves The Italian explains why he is not, in his opinion, a bloodthirsty oaf for having gassed Abyssinia The German does not bother to explain why Hitler believes his own ranting, but why the war-wrecked *Volk* has to and does believe it The Frenchman denies that the Franco-Soviet Pact will turn his country into a western outpost of Bolshevism The Russian admits his disillusionment and insists that while the Fascist is fighting against the inevitable, he, a Bolshevist, is fighting for it—fighting, that is, to perfect a new system *before* the collapse of the capitalist system brings chaos and anarchy to the world. The Japanese warns us that the East cannot quite share our good opinion of ourselves. I am not yellow in my own eyes, he says in effect, and I want the East to belong to the East and the West to belong to the West. The American explains why he will have nothing to do with Europe and points to the grey watery wastes as proof of his real isolation. The Man Who Knew Statistics has neither nationality nor political creed, but his precise and unbiassed information about economics form a most important chapter

Only occasionally does Mr. Hollis interrupt these talks, and then only when they seem to be drifting overboard But his last chapter magnificently and indeed eloquently records the faith of the Englishman. He wants neither Fascism nor Communism to come to his Somerset valleys, but he is pleased that Fascism has woken England from its happy but prolonged Palmerstonian dream of government. If Europe is worth saving, he says, it can only be on account of its Christian ideals and culture. Thus he can discover nothing in the Left brands of thought which is likely to help, since the Left ideology is opposed to Christianity Nationalism, he adds, is the rock on which we must build, not the rock to be first blown up before we can start building. For its information, sanity, calm, and intense honesty of outlook every European should read this book I would like to see it sell and be read, like *Mein Kampf*.

SHORTER NOTICES

JAPANESE LADY IN EUROPE. By Haruko Ichikawa. *Cape*. 10*s*. 6*d*.

A CHARMING collection of travel impressions by a Japanese lady who toured Europe with her husband, acting as "dry-plate to his lens." They are beautifully written, with a freshness and lack of prejudice not often found in travel-books in this sophisticated age. Perhaps a quotation from her chapter on

Cambridge will best illustrate the charm of her manner. She writes of the students :

> "They looked rather like trades-boys carrying books in baskets fixed to their handle-bars, but their faces showed that they had no mental troubles . . . Among Japanese students, no one can be found who might provoke the appetite of an old cannibal, but even I might have been able to eat such young men as they. . . . Some of them are extremely tall, but they are rather slender, just like asparagus cultivated under glass."

ZERO HOUR. By Richard Freund. *Methuen*. 10*s*. 6*d*.

THIS is a very good guide to the national policies of the various States. The author himself has no axe to grind. He recognises that nations are not guided by a belief in collective ideals, but merely by self-interest. He regrets this, but as it is so, he makes it his business to set down what these interests are. This he does very successfully, with remarkable accuracy and soundness of judgment. This is certainly one of the best guides to world affairs today, and a really fascinating book.

I WAS A SOVIET WORKER. By Andrew Smith. *Hale*. 12*s*. 6*d*.

LIKE all books on Russia this is controversial It tells the story of an American Communist who gave up all to go and work in the Soviet Union, and lived to regret it He looked for heaven and found something worse than hell. The Communism of Lenin, he says, has been stifled by an ignorant and tyrannical bureaucracy. America treats its dogs better than the Soviet treats its workers. This is a grim and humourless book, which will equally annoy and delight. But it does force one to ask the question : If discontent is as widespread among army and people as the author would have us believe, why is the bureaucratic minority not speedily overthrown ?

DICTATORS. By Jacques Bainville. *Cape*. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Dictators, by the late Jacques Bainville, historian and well-known royalist journalist, is a series of historical sketches of dictators from Solon to Hitler. The author does not take the view that dictators are necessarily good or bad, and is in any case convinced that, whether good or bad, they are generally imposed by circumstances and have to be suffered. Another point he makes as an historian is that we are wrong in believing our age to be unique in its dictators—we are merely repeating the experiences of former generations. With this background he analyses the individual dictators, showing where and why they succeeded or failed. An intelligent and interesting book, with original comments on post-war leaders.

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

To far too many English people Czechoslovakia is still only a geographical expression or a name occasionally read in the newspapers in connection with dictators' ambitions But really Czechoslovakia is one of the most charming little countries in Europe It is barely twenty years old politically, but its capital is one of the oldest and loveliest cities in Europe Prague is only twenty-seven hours by rail from London, but those who prefer, or can afford, air travel, can get there in a few hours via Cologne and Nuremberg at a cost of £23 return If you can't afford the air, you can travel by train to Prague for about £11 return. There are three main routes from London The first is from Victoria, via Ostend, Nuremberg (where you change), and Cheb, and takes twenty-eight hours The second, from Liverpool Street, via Flushing, Leipzig, and Podmokly, takes one hour less. The third, also from Liverpool Street, via the Hook, Leipzig and Decin, takes thirty-four hours Railway travel in Czechoslovakia is very cheap, and there are very considerable reductions on the return fare for those who stay more than six days in the country. Another alternative, of course, is to take your car—roads in most parts of the country are good

The Czechs are renowned for their hospitality As their proverb has it, "a guest in the house is God in the house"—and the Czechs are a religious people You will find a considerable amount of English spoken; and where it isn't, your German and their goodwill should carry you through.

Where to go

Wherever you intend to stay, it will be well worth your while to visit the capital and spend a day or more in the lovely old city It contains some magnificent examples of Baroque architecture, besides the ancient castle of the Bohemian Kings and many majestic churches

Having seen Prague and obtained sufficient information for a talk to your club on return about the position of Czechoslovakia, you may then either wander from one end of the country to the other or go to some centre where you can rest or which you can use as a starting-point for excursions.

If you suffer from any of the many complaints which are amenable to spa treatment, or if you like to see European society on holiday, you will go to one of Czechoslovakia's watering-places. The two best-known are perhaps Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad) and Marianske Lazné

(Marienbad)—the former is useful if you have gout, poor circulation, or disordered kidneys, the latter particularly for internal disorders or tropical diseases. Jachymov (Joachimstal) is the world's chief radium spa for rheumatism, sciatica and nervous disorders—Piestany offers you mud-baths for your gout, rheumatism or sciatica, and if your heart is not what it ought to be, go to Frantiskovy Lazné (Franzensbad) or Podebrady. None of these spas is more than two or three hours from Prague.

If you are more energetic, and want to wander in forests or climb mountains, there are several alternatives. There are the western forests of Bohemia and Moravia, and to the north of Prague there is " Bohemian-Saxon Switzerland." Or you can go east into Slovakia and the wilds of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia.

Strbske Pleso (over 4,000 feet) is a favourite Slovak centre in the High Tatras mountains. Here you can bathe, shoot, fish (trout), or make it a starting-point for climbing. Further east, towards Jasina, you come into the most primitive part of the country, among the rugged Carpathians and ancient forests. For those who wish to walk and to explore this is the most exciting part of the country.

Those thinking of going to Czechoslovakia can get all the information they require from the Czechoslovak Travel Bureau, 21, Regent Street, S.W.1.

FOREIGN TOURING IS CHEAP NOW

by CAPTAIN G. E. T. EYSTON

ORGANISED foreign motor tours, so popular a feature in the summer, are beginning early this year. The newly-formed Foreign Touring Club has plans, I learn, for an Easter tour of the Belgian battlefields area and the Ardennes.

The party will cross from Dover to Ostend on Thursday, March 25 and return to Dover on the Monday. Foreign touring is a very different proposition since the recent devaluation of the foreign exchanges. As an example of how costs now work out, I give a few budget details of a tour just lately made by a party of three in France, Italy and Switzerland. In Paris, they put up for the night in a semi-luxury hotel just off the Champs Elysées, and were charged 50 francs each for large rooms with private bath Although the exchange is now at the rate of about 105 francs to the pound in place of 75 a few months ago, prices in this Paris hotel for the room, and luncheon and dinner as well, were the same as when the party stayed there, before devaluation, last summer. On the road, they found that the average price of a good luncheon or dinner was between 18 and 25 francs, although at smaller restaurants it was possible to lunch or dine for 12 francs. Petrol of first-class quality, fully equal to the best anti-knock brands in Great Britain, costs about 2.50 francs per litre, equivalent to about 2s 2½d. per gallon, while ordinary " tourisme " spirit costs slightly less.

In Italy, prices were much the same. But tourists who are staying not less than five days in the country can secure considerable reductions through the system of hotel and petrol coupons. By the aid of these coupons, the price of petrol is reduced from the normal 2s. a gallon to 1s. 8d. if you stay for not less than five days, and to 1s. 3½d. if you stay a minimum of 15 days. The concession only covers a limited quantity

of petrol, but this is enough for normal requirements.

In Switzerland, the party found that hotel prices were rather higher than in Italy or France Petrol, on the other hand, was a little less expensive, the cost being 43 Swiss cents per litre, or approximately 1s 10½d per gallon Had the party been staying for a minimum period of three days, they would have been entitled to a refund on leaving the country which would have brought the price down to 1s 3½d a gallon

Germany is a favourite touring country for British motorists You can tour comfortably on as little as 10s or 15s a day, including petrol, thanks to the Travel Mark system by means of which you enjoy a special rate of exchange At present, it is about R M 25 to the pound In the summer the rate is usually about R M 20 or 22 An average charge for bed and breakfast in town works out at about R.M. 4 or R.M. 6, and in the wayside and country inns rather less. Garaging is often free, or costs about R.M.1 or R M 1 50. Table d'hote luncheon or dinner in small hotels can be had for R M 1.60 or R.M. 2. Beer and wines are cheap, good and plentiful, and there are no closing hours! Petrol charges are roughly about the same as in Great Britain No tax or licence fee of any kind is payable by visiting motorists who take their cars to Germany for periods of less than three months.

WOULD IT WORK?

If you think Fascism can rule America, try telling your wife that your first duty is to the State instead of her.—*Louisville Times, U S.A.*

MOVES TOWARDS BREAKING TRADE SHACKLES

by "RAPIER"

DURING a period of comparative calm in international affairs it is an opportune moment to take stock of the economic outlook for the world at large and Britain in particular The bankers in their annual orations were optimistic on the prospects of continued industrial revival in Britain but their optimism was tempered by anxiety lest a revival, based upon housing and rearmament, and fostered by tariffs and cheap money, should create a too hot-house type of domestic recovery liable to collapse should any of the stimulants be withdrawn The housing boom has already probably passed its peak, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has indicated that the term of rearmament will be roughly five years In the opinion of the bankers the only sure shield for the permanent maintenance of a healthy economic life in Britain is an expansion of international trade

But it is not only in Britain that these abnormal conditions prevail. Industrial recovery in most countries today is based upon the vicious principle of self sufficiency, aided by Government expenditure on armaments or relief works, and reinforced by subsidies, quotas, tariffs, restriction of output, of migration, and of foreign lending If peace and prosperity are to be maintained all these restrictions and adventitious aids to industry must be swept away or at least modified.

The present moment seems favourable for some amelioration of existing restrictions. There is a stirring in the world's Chancelleries and a realisation that now or never is the time to act. The event which set these forces in motion was, I believe, the tripartite monetary agreement which was concluded last Autumn between America, France and Britain on the occasion of the devaluation of the franc, and which was followed by Dutch, Swiss and other devaluations. It was emphasised at the time by the spokesmen of the leading countries, that unless devaluation was followed by abolitions of quotas and lowering of tariffs the beneficial effects of devaluation would be largely vitiated Britain took the lead in these admonitions but failed to take any practical action in lowering its own tariffs. Both France and Holland, have, however, adjusted tariffs and quotas and are expected to go further in this direction shortly.

Britain's Obstruction

As I write, the Low Countries are negotiating with the Scandinavian countries in an attempt to form a low-tariff group It is to be hoped that their efforts on this occasion will not, as in the past, be blocked by Britain, whose insistence on its "Most Favoured Nation" rights killed the Oslo convention concluded between seven small northern European countries in 1930,

and the Lausanne convention of 1932, concluded by Holland and Belgium-Luxemburg. The M.F.N. clause gives a nation that has adopted it in any trade treaty with any other country, the right to benefit from any subsequent tariff concessions made by the latter to a third party. In these days of limited trade agreements it does not always suit the countries concerned to extend concessions to a third party, which itself is making no concessions. It would be opportune, therefore, if Britain made some official declaration on its future policy on the M.F N. clause and adopted a less rigid interpretation of it

Talks with the U.S.

The return of President Roosevelt to power, and his almost certain authorisation by Congress to continue the negotiation of reciprocal trade treaties, opens the way to an Anglo-American treaty for which Mr. Runciman's visit to Washington was a preliminary exploration The possibility of negotiating such a treaty is governed first of all by the form which American neutrality legislation is likely to take in the present session of Congress, a subject which must have been one of Mr. Runciman's main objects of consultation. With Britain's communications in the Mediterranean today threatened, not only by submarines, but also by aircraft, it is essential to be certain of supplies reaching this country in time of war from across the Atlantic

If this difficulty can be satisfactorily disposed of, there is plenty of scope for increasing trade between Britain and America, although Britain's existing treaties as they affect agricultural products, and its domestic policy of encouraging agricultural production at home, are limiting factors. However, an analysis of commodities actually exchanged shows that two-thirds of British imports from America consist of raw materials or semi-manufactured goods and that over a third of British exports to America come into the same category. An increased exchange of such goods can therefore be made without competing with the domestic manufactures of either country.

Although it would be difficult to extend such an agreement to include the self-governing Dominions, it might include the British Colonies, though here the existing schemes for restricting output of rubber and tin, etc., may prove an obstacle It is interesting to note that should a treaty be concluded its effects will be much more widespread than merely increasing Anglo-American trade for Most Favoured Nation rights apply to treaties between Britain and America.

Senator Hull is known to be keen to conclude such a treaty The stage is set for freer trade Let us hope that Mr. Runciman will be the leading actor, not only in an Anglo-American romance, but in the world-shaking drama of "Autarchy Unmasked" and its sequel "Prometheus Unbound"

"WORLD REVIEW" COMPETITION

Result of Competition No. 1

Our first Competition (an imaginary extract from the diary of Hitler and Mussolini on one another) brought in a good batch of entries, without actually overstraining the postman "Mercurious" might have won if he had conformed to the competition as set. This was good "Last night had horrible nightmare. Dreamt I was arraigned before Council of League and charged with incitement to war Eden prosecuting Protested proceedings were contrary to spirit of "Gentleman's Agreement" Franco witness for prosecution Condemned unanimously to be Viceroy of Ethiopia for life Wielded pick on demolition work, discussed plans of Mussolini Maternity Palace site Fixed next Emergency Mobilisation of Nation Issued 20,000 light machine guns to Balilla organisation Received delegation of Royal and Imperial Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children Received Ward Price and made another peace offer *E cosi a letto*"

Other good points were "*Hitler* He's got an easier task than I, lucky chap The Italian temperament is more easily led. words go further *Mussolini* He's a lucky chap to have Germans to deal with As long as they are in uniform, they're happy My fellows took a lot of getting into uniform at all" (H R Grime) "*Mussolini*. If he thinks I'm sending my eight million olive branches (I mean bayonets) up into Europe to help him fight Russia, he's mistaken" (J L O Whyte) "*Hitler* Perhaps he's not so clever—merely smart *Mussolini*. Not clever—merely verbose, inactive The Abyssinian affair was real war, even if a little onesided" (J R Sisson)

On the whole, although some of his puns were just about the worst we have ever heard, we hand the first prize to Guy Innes for being cheerfully idiotic. F. Young comes second, for good points.

First Prize

Hitler on Mussolini · "Duce"= Leader, "Fuehrer"=Leader; which is the genuine Leading Article? Both our countries have passed the dictation test, which is the best Dictator? As an author, this Mussolini is a moth; I am the Kampfer. But I have no colonies, few friends (Roehm, Roehm, thou art no more!). This Mussolini has Rome and Abyssinia Shall his bayonets lop also the Spanish olive-branches? Can I learn from this Mussolini? Can the good Aryan *Wurst* speak the language of the Mediterranean sardine?

Mussolini on Hitler · Hitler the House-painter! But what a house! A barracks! And soldiers! Of what fightingness (*pugnazione*)! Yes?

Whence comes the butter to butter all those guns?

I put up the brass front (*sfacciatezza*), the boom-boom-boom (*fanfaronata*). My generals hang the wallop (*schiaffo*) on the Ethiop's ear. . . .

Ah, for this Hitler behind the Spaghetti Front, to give my brave Blackshirts, my Balilla, the Sunday helping of the Winter Help every Sunday! No?

Guy Innes

Second Prize

Mussolini · Personal contact with Hitler, impressions unfavourable:

Prefer realists to mystics ·

Dislike flabby physique and volubility:

Teuton clumsy sword compares ill with Italian rapier ·

No awareness of bluff's limitations:

My policy, first, Peace with Church; second, totalitarian State.

Am no partner in German-Japanese :ntente : don't regard the Comintern ɔ seriously : might have nasty reper-ussions at awkward moment :

Have great hopes of big loan and ırefer some "butter" on top of my sharpened bayonets," foreign for choice.

Hitler · Dirty trick of Musso to as-ume "War Lord" dress on first ıeeting, brought to surface my in-:riority complex :

Envy his ability to send budding rivals ɔ outlying colonies, very word makes ıy mouth water ·

Didn't care for his attitude after)ollfuss, prickly customer ; but can ʼork South-East in Mittel Europe lan

Points of agreement —

(1) Spain is becoming an "ulcer."

(2) England good for making agreements, gentlemen's or otherwise; don't want the last "sou."

F. Young

COMPETITION NO. 3

RESEARCH on the behaviour of wireless waves in the ionosphere has led (according to a report printed elsewhere in this issue) to the discovery of a layer affecting wireless waves, situated 40 miles above the earth. "Although Americans have also discovered this layer," states the report, "we were the first, and the layer is therefore British." Give, in not more than 150 words, an extract from a leading article in either *The Times*, *Morning Post*, or *Daily Express*, on the day that the ionosphere is formally annexed to the British Empire ; or, alternatively, the comment made on the announcement by a German, Italian, or Russian newspaper. Entries to be received by April 5.

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

January 18. Mr Runciman arrives in America for trade talks with President Roosevelt and Mr Cordell Hull (see "Rapier," p 76)

February 8 President Roosevelt announces plan for increasing number of Supreme Court Judges and proposes "old men" should retire Outburst over "dictatorship methods," aimed, it is believed, at securing that the President's plans shall not in future be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court

GENEVA

January 21. League Council meets. Chief questions on agenda—Alexandretta and Danzig

„ 27. Agreement reached on Alexandretta The Sanjak (district) to have complete autonomy in internal affairs within Syrian State, and to have League High Commissioner.

„ 27 Danzig settlement announced Another League High Commissioner to be appointed but not to interfere in internal affairs of city.

SPAIN

January 28 German and Italian replies to British note on volunteers express willingness to ban volunteers, but urge that all foreign volunteers, agitators, and propagandists should be withdrawn from Spain and that international control should be enforced

February 8 Malaga falls to rebels

„ 15 Governments in Non-Intervention Committee agree to ban volunteers as from February 28 Control plan still not agreed to by Portugal.

FRANCE

January 24 M Blum, appeals to Germany to co-operate in speech at Lyons, but rejects bi-lateral pacts and says any negotiations must form part of general European settlement

„ 30. British loan of £40 million to France following continued "flight from the franc," owing to fresh devaluation fears

GERMANY

January 16 Resumption of full German sovereignty over Kiel Canal

„ 30. Reichstag meets to celebrate fourth anniversary of National-Socialists' accession to power Hitler demands colonies and renews offer of guaranteed neutrality to Belgium and Holland.

UNITED KINGDOM

January 17. Left Wing United Front formed by Socialist League (under Sir Stafford Cripps), Independent Labour Party and Communist Party.

„ 19 Mr Eden's speech on choice before Germany of isolation or co-operation

February 4. Government announce voluntary scheme for physical training and recreation, to improve physique of the nation.

„ 11. Government announce plan for Defence Loan of up to £400,000,000.

„ 17 Government announce expenditure on Armaments to be £1,500,000,000 over next five years.

ITALY

February 3. Italian and Turkish Foreign Ministers meet in Rome to discuss Italy's adhesion to the Dardanelles Convention signed in Montreux in July, 1936

NETHERLANDS

January 27. M Vandervelde, Belgian Socialist Minister of Public Health, resigned because in opposition to Cabinet attitude towards Spain

February 2. Arrival in Brussels of King of Sweden and Foreign Minister, Hr Sandler, for trade talks.

„ 4 Hr Sandler visits The Hague, also for discussions to further economic co-operation Holland to invite signatories of Oslo Convention to meet in The Hague at end of February (see "Rapier," p 76)

„ 13. Hitler's offer of neutrality treaty declined

SOVIET RUSSIA

January 23 Beginning of trial of seventeen "Trotskyist wreckers," including Radek, Sokolnikoff and Pyatakoff.

„ 29. Thirteen accused sentenced to death, ten years for Radek and Sokolnikoff

February 8 Finnish Foreign Minister arrives for talks with M Litvinoff in effort to improve Russo-Finnish relations.

JAPAN

January 24. Prime Minister Hirota and Cabinet resigned owing to hostile reception in Diet and opposition of army.

February 2. General Hayashi forms new Cabinet with approval of army.

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WORLD REVIEW

VERNON BARTLETT

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"A Western Pact: the Prospects

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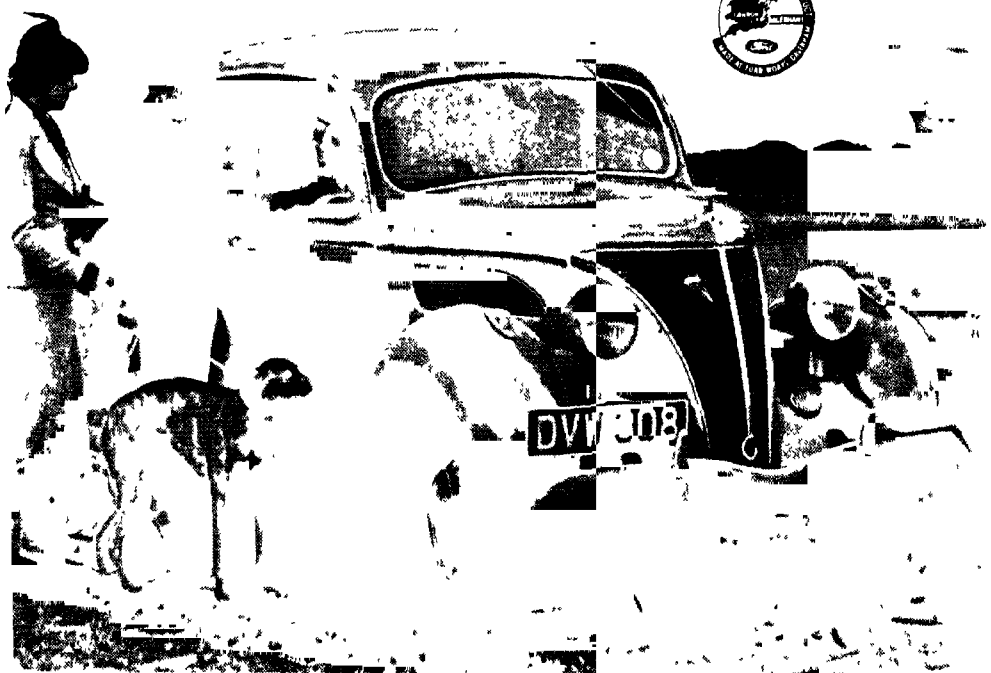
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Volume III No. 2 — *Incorporating* 'REVIEW OF REVIEWS' and 'WORLD' — *April*, 1937

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WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please. Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

THE WAY OF THE WORLD

by VERNON BARTLETT

THE international control of the coasts and frontiers of Spain has come into force after so much intrigue to delay it that nobody stops to reflect upon the development it marks in the relationship between nations.

Blockade in order to inflict defeat is as old as the shipping industry that carries it out. It is a part of the international anarchy which we hoped to destroy by drafting the League Covenant. Blockade as a police measure to check an aggressor was attempted against Italy in her war against Abyssinia and failed because the attempt was too timid. Had it succeeded once against a great power the effect would have been so impressive that it might never have been needed again. But it did not succeed, and nobody can hope that the method, with the risks for peace it involves, will be tried again, at any rate in the near future.

Benevolent Blockade

The next best thing seems to be this blockade in order to keep the ring. The principle of it is not invalidated by the very unfortunate fact—especially unfortunate for the Spanish Government—that we

have only begun to keep the ring clear when the odds are so one-sided that the match is between a bullying heavy-weight and a bantam boxer. If this international machinery can prevent further interference in Spain it may not save the Spanish Government but it may establish a valuable precedent. If peoples are not yet ready to combine in economic, financial or military action against an aggressor they must at least be ready to place all possible obstacles between two potential fighters and to prevent the supply of war material once the fight has begun

Many of us have felt ever since the Greco-Bulgarian dispute of October 1925 that there should be international civil servants watching over the peace of Europe along every frontier. At that time neutral officers were appointed on each side of the border with prearranged meeting places where they could discuss and settle any incident. In this Spanish case we have a development of the same principle on a much larger scale, but for a more limited purpose. An efficient police force should interfere to help a victim of aggression, but even one which merely prevents allies from giving help to the aggressor is a step away from anarchy towards order

Germany, during recent weeks, seems to have cut down her supplies of men and materials to Spain. Italy, up to the very last moment, sent in all the troops she could. There is some reason to hope that this supply has really come to an end Even before the last detachments were sent Signor Farinacci, former general secretary of the Fascist party, was declaring at Bologna that there were 73,000 Italians in Spain. There must also be at least 25,000 Germans. On the Government side the total number of foreign volunteers cannot now exceed 12,000. Thus the dice are almost as cruelly loaded as they were in the Italo-Abyssinian war.

Visit to Madrid

A week or two ago I went to Madrid on a second visit since this civil war began When I was there last October there was no discipline, murder stalked abroad every night, and not one trench barred the advance between Toledo and the capital. I found that, in the relatively short space of four months, there had been a most remarkable change. One expects a barricade to be an untidy ridge of paving stones, sandbags, bits of furniture and any other obstacle that comes to

hand. Some tidier word is wanted for these great four-foot thick walls which traversed every street along which the enemy might have marched into Madrid. The trenches in the University City were certainly better than those that we knew on the Western Front in 1915. The troops who manned them had quite a good sense of discipline and carried out their manoeuvres on the barracks square with a smartness which compared quite favourably with that of the Guard which used to parade in the courtyard of Alphonso XIII's palace.

I wandered around the streets of Madrid late at night and was not challenged once. The illiterates who used to stop my car at the entrance to every village, in order to study my documents upside down, had entirely disappeared. Between Valencia and Madrid I was only held up twice, and on each occasion by smart men who were civil guards in both meanings of the adjective. Were it not for the Italian and German battalions on Franco's side one would have been confident that the Spanish Government would win this war, whatever the fate of Madrid.

Palace Hotel

One experience on my second visit to the capital will remain especially vividly in my memory. General Miaja, the supreme defender of Madrid—a nice, jovial, tubby, old man in a thick brown lumber jacket—received us in a deep cellar under one of the government buildings. In a horribly stuffy atmosphere—for his ante-room was packed all day long—he explained to us quite confidently how he could defend the city against all comers. For half-an-hour we listened to details of the fighting proceeding on three sides of us. Then we drove to the Palace Hotel to a swell dinner and the most comfortable bedrooms imaginable.

All floors except one in the hotel had been converted into a military hospital. The stink of anaesthetics slightly spoiled the bouquet of the Burgundy (every restaurant was bringing the oldest and best bottles out of its cellar for sale at ludicrous prices while they could be sold at all), but the cooking was excellent. I had a hot bath in my apartment and went to bed.

When I awoke in the early morning I could hear a bed creaking in the room above as some poor devil of a wounded soldier turned and

twisted in his fever. And, very plainly, I could hear the crackle of rifle fire in the front line !

Madrid versus Valencia

The crowded streets of Madrid after over a hundred days of siege led one to wonder how the people kept alive. The Palace Hotel was reserved for important guests and the men with whom I had come to Madrid were in that category. But the contrast between the food there and in the restaurant where the journalists ate was so great, that I was ashamed to have more than one meal in such luxury. And the journalists must have been much better off than the vast majority of Madrileños.

There were so few lorries on the road between Valencia and Madrid, that one could almost sympathise with the desire of the citizens of Madrid that the Valencians should suffer at least one severe bombardment to arouse them to the seriousness of the war. The petrol scarcity is difficult to remedy, for the big petroleum combines, who have been at loggerheads with Spain ever since Primo de Rivera defied them during his dictatorship, apparently hesitate to supply a government which has so little respect for private property. They would get a better deal from Franco.

But a stronger and more united government could have rationed petrol, reduced car permits and organised efficient supply columns to Madrid. From the beginning of the civil war ministers representing such divergent ideas as Communism and Anarcho-Syndicalism have bickered and wasted time, but one did not realise this until the growing shortage of supplies put a premium on efficiency. The wonder is, not that these men bicker but that they have not bickered more; but their lack of energy has undoubtedly encouraged the belief that the Spanish government's resistance is on the verge of complete collapse.

I doubt whether that belief is justified. One overlooks the tremendous influence of a people's army on a nation's affairs, and the new army in Spain is a people's army such as Trotsky built up in Russia in the early days of the revolution there.

Life Besieged

Life in a city which is subjected to almost daily bombing or bombardment inevitably has its surprises. I was astonished to find

so many shops open and, apparently, prospering. People crowded into the cinemas and almost the longest queue I passed was waiting to see " The Ghost Goes West." There were more women and children about in the streets than I had ever seen before and the seats along the boulevards were as crowded as in peace time—those seats that remained, for many of them had disappeared for firewood.

Bombs and Sabotage

In a hundred yards or so, as soon as one began going downhill towards the River Manzanares, one was in an abomination of desolation. Building after building had been destroyed by shells or bombs, and those of us who wonder what will happen to us in the next war would find very little comfort from a study of the number of floors through which a bomb can fall before it explodes. Here and there in the ruins soldiers scrambled around for firewood. One or two mule skeletons lay stinking in the roadway.

And, as far as I could discover, every road going down the hill was in full view of the enemy on the farther bank of the Manzanares. On one visit I went around with a large touring party of visitors including a bunch of generals and two Spanish Ambassadors, and never before have I realised how untrue it may be to say that there is safety in numbers. But no shrapnel came over to send us scattering and the very occasional bullets were " strays." The casualties in this horrible civil war would have been very much heavier if the Spaniards could have persuaded themselves that rifles should be fired against bodies and not against buildings.

They would also have been far heavier on the government side if there were not so many "duds" among the rebel shells that nobody can doubt the existence of sabotage on a grand scale. Many regulars in the Spanish Army are alleged deliberately to fire even higher than human fallibility would normally lead them to do, and sand does not find its way accidentally into shells in the place of high explosive. The Ides of March attacks on Guadalajara must also have robbed Signor Mussolini's triumphal tour of Libya of some of its triumph, for his divisions must contain incompetent or unconvinced soldiers since they had to retreat in disorder before Miaja's armed civilians.

Whatever your opinion of the " Reds " and " Fascists " in Spain may be, you have to admit that the defence of Madrid has had

glorious epic qualities which will be remembered long after Franco and Caballero are forgotten.

Rubbish about Reds

In one respect Franco has been very successful. Even the presence of whole Italian brigades fighting on the Madrid front under orders from the Italian Government—for nobody can pretend that soldiers and munitions could leave Naples, Gaeta or La Spezia without the Duce's knowledge—has not disturbed the minds of our Imperialists. This is war without the declaration of it in a part of the world which vitally affects communications between different parts of the Empire. And yet I find scores of people, whose devotion to the Empire cannot be questioned, worrying far more about Communism, becoming such a ghost of itself in Russia, than about Italian and German ambitions, expressing themselves so blatantly in Spain and Spanish Africa.

There can be no doubt in the minds of anybody who visits Valencia today that the Communists, despite their superior discipline, are not in control. The most influential people there today are certainly not more extreme in their views than Herbert Morrison, and it is difficult to believe (unless one has prejudices that are almost hysterical) that a Spanish Herbert Morrison struggling to appease the claims of half a dozen autonomous regions could be a serious menace to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The best comment I have seen on the whole situation comes from a French paper. " Do understand once and for all," says one Frenchman to another, " that with the Reichswehr along the Pyrenees our Spanish frontier is safeguarded against a surprise attack by the Cossacks from the Urals."

GAS MASKS FOR RACE-HORSES

A special Air Raid Precautions Committee has been formed at Newmarket. One of its objects is to devise special gas-masks for race-horses —*Evening Standard, London*

WISECRACK

A rumour has been circulated that Hitler intends to get married. It is understood that the Treaty of Versailles will be used as confetti —*Dublin Opinion.*

THE INTERNATIONAL WAR ~

CONTROL COMMISSIONER · "Where are you going, Sister?"

"I'm taking these boys on a pilgrimage to Spain."

"Good."

"Il Travaso delle Idee," R

"El Socialista," Madrid

BOMBS OVER MADRID

"But why do they drop bombs on us?"

"They say they must shed less blood, and we've got less than the grown-ups"

"It is understood the control of frontiers will be in the hands only of Mediterranean Powers—Germany and Japan."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," P

THE DRESS REHEARSAL

The Spaniard's blood is fiery, the Spaniard's head is hot,
The Spaniards' quarrels are their own, the Spanish War is not ;
As amateurs they flew to arms, not even knowing how,
And, lacking expert aid, the scrap would be all over now.

But war-trained Powers took the field with small hope of reward,
To save the modern world the shame of fighting with the sword,
They lavished field-equipment and the necessary men,
For just a little looting and some plunder now and then.

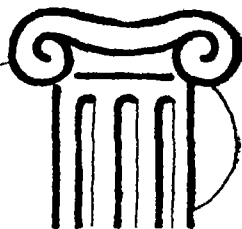
They shelled, and they bombarded, and they mechanised the ranks
With armoured-cars, machine-guns, and artillery and tanks,
They filled the sky with bombers and they strewed the sea with mines,
And mowed militia down with guns of delicate designs.

So when all volunteers were by non-intervention banned,
They had to send out armies and assume the high command,
And the hundred-thousand Fascists who now animate the scene
Are naturally hostile when the Spaniards intervene.

While sharing full expenses in the observation posts
To make all neutral ships " move on " around the Spanish coasts,
Their expeditionary force involves a double cost ;
But they know the opportunity too precious to be lost.

The seven-and-twenty nations who agree to stand apart
From this striking demonstration of the military art,
Combine to make these critical manoeuvres a success,
Whatever other sentiments their citizens profess.

In Spain the newest theories of the Staffs can be applied,
In Spain they test inventions, never previously tried,
For Spain's the dress-rehearsal, with effects not seen before,
For the final presentation on a world-wide scene of war.

REYNARD.

THE END OF CIVILISATION

Appeal to the Thickheads of Europe

by A. A. MILNE

In this section, we publish, without necessarily sharing their views, articles by men of international fame. Mr. A. A. Milne, whose book "Peace with Honour" added to the already enormous scope of his popularity, here appeals to our rulers for a little sense

FROM time to time we are told that the next war will be the end of civilisation ; or, more hopefully, that another war would so obviously be the end of civilisation that it will never happen. In the equivalent of some such words—" the end of civilisation "—the warning has come from the highly-placed of every nation in Europe. The fact that, none the less, the highly-placed of every nation should contrive to prepare for the next war is not surprising ; for, however uncultured a dictator may be he can still translate the motto of the armament firms, *si vis pacem*, into his own language. Five thousand pacific aeroplanes and ten thousand well-meaning tanks is a contribution to the upkeep of civilisation of which every nation may be proud.

This being understood, it seems odd that whenever statesmen contemplate not the prospect of the next war, nor the aftermath of the next war, but the war itself, they are always looking at something which they still hope may be shaped to their own advantage or the advantage of their countries. Yet if the war is to be the final catastrophe which they have promised, to whom is the advantage ? Six people caught by an avalanche need not concern themselves as to which reaches the bottom first. Once the war is engaged, the war is lost—by all of us.

It would be helpful to the peace of Europe if every dictator scrapped the present motto over his desk :—

> " That best portion of a good man's life ;
> His little nameless unremembered acts
> Of kindness and of love "—

or whatever it may be, and substituted this :—

> " *If there is another war, I have lost it.*"

To assimilate a new idea is comparatively easy ; to attribute a new meaning to an old idea is tragically hard The idea of war is that it should bring about some desired end not otherwise to be reached ; the new meaning is that the end is the end of everything. But though men say so, honestly believing it to be the fact, the acceptance of the fact is still so strange to them that it has not yet become the premiss of their thought Only when it is the instinctive premiss of their thought on war will the danger of war be averted. What one wants to get into the thick heads which rule the world is, not that war is unchristian or uneconomic, but simply that it is no longer war. It is suicide While permanently insane

Logic on Colonies

Even the temporarily sane do not continuously realise this. As a contribution towards peace a reconsideration of the colonial question has been suggested The first British argument against any such reconsideration is that, contrary to the German belief, colonies are not an asset but a liability, a liability which we are prepared to defend to the last altruist The second argument is that hundreds of years of experience of the wickedness of ruling natives without their permission has determined us not to let any other country do it—always provided that she is not in a position to threaten Malta. These arguments, however logical they may seem after dinner, are little more than a re-statement of the sound old Tory doctrine : " What we have we hold." As a doctrine it lacks the appeal of more spacious days. The rich man is no longer encouraged to be sufficient to himself, he must provide a surplus for others ; and from the rich Empire a similar generosity might be expected. Some nobler argument, then, must be found to convince the liberal-minded that the German claim to colonies should not be met. And

the argument, convincing to many, is this : that such colonies would be used against us in the next war.

But the next war is going to be the end of civilisation anyhow. So what does it matter ?

Whether one contemplates the actions or digests the words of the thickheads of Europe, one finds always this inconsistency—that in the intervals of saying that the next war will be the end of all things, they behave as if the next war will merely conform to precedent and initiate the next-war-but-one. They may, of course, be right when they so behave, and wrong in their more gloomy assumption. But is it not time that the world had the means of deciding when they are right and when they are wrong ? Or is this decision to be left to the survivors ?

Now if it were really certain that the next war would be the end of civilisation, even the thickest heads in Europe would put themselves together and do something about it. But, so far, all the concerted action which they have shown has been directed, not against war, but against the nearest threat of war. Well, not quite all. Two concerted efforts to postpone the end of civilisation have been made—an agreement not to wage aggressive war, and an agreement not to use gas—the two agreements being followed by an agreement to prove, by a frenzied preparation of armaments and gas masks, that they were not intended to have any meaning. It would seem, then, that our rulers do *not* think that the next war will be catastrophic. On the other hand it might be argued (as was argued in a recent issue of this REVIEW) that the number of times lately in which war has been averted at the last moment by some sort of common action shows that they *do* think that the next war will be catastrophic. Well, what is the right answer ?

Riddle of High Politics

That which baffles the Man in the Street so continuously in his survey of European politics ; which makes him wonder whether he is living in a real world or in some nightmare (wherein any responsible statesman may appear at any moment in the top-half of his pyjamas saying that he is Mary Queen of Scots); the stupifying thought which has almost reconciled him now to the next war, is this—that procedure in High Politics bears no relation whatever to procedure in normal

life, for the reason that it proceeds from no recognisable springs of human action. We are faced with annihilation; we tell ourselves that it *is* annihilation; well, is it annihilation or isn't it? Nobody knows, and nobody has thought the matter worth investigation.

In the nightmare world of High Politics it seems unreasonable to make any simple and reasonable suggestion. Yet I suggest that there might be held an international enquiry into the state of Europe after the next war. It would not be authoritative, perhaps, but it would be as authoritative as human foresight and human intelligence could make it. No possible objection could be raised by any dictator to such an enquiry on the grounds that it was some wicked pacifist or "Bolshevist" attempt to weaken the national will. Every dictator asserts that his armaments are for defence; Germany is terrified of Russian aggression; how helpful, then, for Russia to be warned in time of a catastrophe in which she herself would be involved. The only objection which could be made would be that it introduced a little reality into the present nightmare—somebody was really getting to grips with something. One fact would have been established. From now onwards every conference, every ambassadorial talk, every Saturday night harangue, every order to an armament firm, every movement of ships or troops would begin with the preamble:—

> "*Whereas it is now universally agreed and recognised that another European war would be the end of civilisation . . .*"

Well, is that not something? The premiss once publicly admitted, the High Statesmen of Europe could begin to grope their way to the fantastic conclusion that there should *not* be another war.

EIGHTEEN YEARS AFTER

Eighteen years after the last shot was fired on the Western Front the bodies of nearly 900 British soldiers were found last year in the battlefields of France and Belgium.

This is revealed in the seventeenth annual report of the Imperial War Graves Commission.

Of the 1,104,890 British soldiers killed, 587,117 have been identified and buried in war cemeteries. A further 180,861 have been found but are unidentified, so there are still 336,000 classified as "missing."

There are 560,000 graves in France and Belgium alone.

Last year 821 bodies were found and reburied in France and 63 in Belgium. Identification was possible in only 96 cases.—*News Chronicle, London.*

A WESTERN PACT

What are the Prospects ?

by FREIHERR VON RHEINBABEN

(*Exclusive in Great Britain to* WORLD REVIEW)

The question of a new " Locarno " was re-opened last month, when the German government replied to the British note of November. Here a distinguished German, who is a former Secretary of State, gives us an authoritative statement of his country's point of view on this very important question

IT is now just over a year since German troops marched into the Rhineland, and Germany's *Führer* announced the Reich's full sovereignty over the demilitarised zone. That was an historic occasion. It caused a good deal of excitement in Paris and elsewhere, but feelings gradually calmed down again.

The attempt to reverse the Reich Government's decisions naturally could not but fail. What finally came out of the affair were special agreements between France, England and Belgium, which imposed on these countries the obligation of mutual assistance in the event of an attack on any of them, until the signing of a new "*Ersatz* Locarno." Germany, for her part, on the same day as her troops marched into the Rhineland, solemnly announced her readiness to negotiate on the basis of full equality, regarding a substitute for the invalidated Locarno Pact of 1925. So it was that, slowly and gradually, the machinery of diplomatic conversations and an exchange of notes regarding a new Pact in Western Europe was set in motion. According to the explicit views of the three Governments in Paris, London and Brussels, it was to be the first step towards a later general peace settlement embracing all Europe.

The international public has not been taking any all too great interest in the long drawn out course of these negotiations. First the liquidation of the Abyssinian Campaign with its far-reaching consequences overshadowed all other events. Then, almost without a pause between, came the Spanish civil war, claiming everybody's interest.

Again and again, however, came warning reminders—particularly on pressure from the English and Belgian Governments—to save the Western Pact negotiations from oblivion and to give them new impetus. How do these negotiations stand today?

Before answering this question, we must be clear as to what is intended by the new Pact under present conditions, compared with the former, changed conditions. The object of the old Pact of 1925 was above all to ensure lasting peace between Germany and France. The inclusion of Belgium in this peace insurance was a side issue. England and Italy were solely the "guarantors" of this German-Franco-Belgian peace insurance. One would think that the object of a new Western Pact in the sense of establishing European equilibrium could be none other than that of basically ensuring peace between all five participating States, starting out from the core of the old "Locarno," i.e. the principle of lasting peace between Germany and France. Anyone, however, examining certain Press utterances in London, Paris and Brussels somewhat more closely, will be forced — not without disquiet—to the conclusion that this simple and clear basic principle is at the moment still being overlaid or artificially confused.

Legend of Germany's Responsibility

In order to arrive at the heart of the matter, it is necessary finally to dispose of the legend that Germany unilaterally and defiantly destroyed on March 7, 1936, a unique, wonderful guarantee of peace, and that the re-establishment of this guarantee must, therefore, somehow take place along anti-German lines. As regards the past, this idea is, objectively and historically considered, wrong; as regards the present and future, politically harmful. It is, rather, correct to say that the Locarno Pact of 1925 (which included one-sided, voluntary demilitarisation on the German side) had been—without German fault or responsibility—so undermined by one of the parties to the Treaty, and, as a consequence of the changed political attitude of other parties to it, so little corresponded to its original object, that at the moment of its external collapse it had already been a big bit of dishonesty for a long time past.

What is meant by that? Let us first have a look at French policy. After what has been said above about the clear sense and

object of the Locarno Pact of 1925, no doubt can exist that the Franco-Russian Pact was a one hundred per cent. offence against the former. No lawyer's interpretation of the Franco-Russian Pact " within the framework of the League "—be it ever so artful—can alter this fact. Before her Pact with Russia, France had in every way national security against any attack by Germany. Opposite the unfortified German Rhineland zone stood, on French soil, the most modern chain of fortifications and the strongest army that the world has ever known. What France was striving for was not additional security on her own territory, but additional freedom of action in all Europe—in other words, solely and unmistakably for the encirclement or, indeed, continued suppression of Germany. So she herself really brought the Locarno Pact of 1925 to collapse.

England's New Claim

And England ? Whereas in the Locarno Pact of 1925 England had explicitly declared herself ready, in the event of an attack on Germany, to support her too with all Britain's armed forces, British policy since the year 1934 has followed new aims. In close collaboration with France it has furthered impossible plans regarding a pact in Eastern Europe, and thereby the drawing of Soviet Russia into European peace and treaty politics. Through being increasingly caught up in the entanglement of Pacts inspired by Paris and Moscow, British policy logically arrived by way of general staff conversations with France and Belgium at presenting the demand that in a future new Western European Pact, England must no longer be a " Guarantor " as before, but herself be a " guaranteed Power " ! The old Locarno has thus been turned upside down !

And Belgium ? The new thesis of Belgium's intention of freeing herself from the entanglement of France's alliance policy, which was first announced by the Belgian King, is certainly due to the fact of the Franco-Russian Pact. So here too, we see an evolution and development opposed to the idea behind the original Pact of Locarno, which has been in no way *caused* by the German occupation of the Rhineland, but merely made obvious by it.

And Italy ? Like Germany, Italy seems to be, now as then, a supporter of the original " Locarno idea." There is hardly any doubt about it—Italy would, today, and tomorrow, be ready once

more to guarantee the Franco-German frontier, or, better, permanent Franco-German peace, in common with England. But just as certainly Italy stands in opposition to certain efforts towards the conclusion of special agreements inside a smaller circle.

As soon as one is clear about these very briefly indicated tendencies on the part of the Powers participating in negotiations for a new Western Pact, one sees at once how great the difficulties of such a new Pact are Involuntarily one asks oneself whether the time is ripe for all participants, instead of clinging to impossible preliminary conditions, to seek honestly a measure of common interests great enough to allow associations working in a contrary direction to be, if not dissolved, at least placed in the background.

German Goodwill

As far as Germany is concerned, she quite certainly does not exclude herself from a continued exchange of opinion. That was evident from the German *Fuhrer*'s declaration of January 30, in which he explicitly declared Germany's willingness to recognise the neutrality of Belgium and Holland, and in so doing simplified the realisation—even in the changed European situation—of an "*Ersatz* Locarno" in the sense of ensuring lasting peace between Germany and France. But, after all that has happened it will be obvious to the other partners where the limits of German conciliation lie. In any case it will not be so easy to make out that the project of a Western Pact has collapsed owing to lack of goodwill on Germany's part. Should the project regrettably not succeed, the reason will be simply and solely that England and France are not willing, in the interests of all Europe, to place in the background those special interests of theirs which have been established meanwhile, and which are contrary to that idea which was right for the original Locarno and would be right also for a future Locarno.

A Great Achievement

One final word—a Western Pact, could it be achieved, would assuredly be a great work which might very well lead Europe into a long period of peace. The very time when one, as so often today, is given to talking in terms of the simple alternative of Peace or War is the time when one should constantly remind onself of the reasons for the outbreak of the World War. Perhaps historical research has

today progressed far enough to reach the following conclusion: in July, 1914, no European Government wanted the war, or was intentionally working towards it. What brought it about was—besides a number of mistakes and faults in individual cases—the fateful entanglement of the States of Europe in General Staff agreements, treaties for military aid, and alliances. It would be tragic if the peoples of Europe had learnt so little from the past that their political leaders were able after so short an interval to lead them into a system similar to that of pre-war days, in which merely this, that or the other outward designation, but in essence nothing, has changed!

WAR PSYCHOSIS AND THE SPIRIT OF PEACE

"Kladderadatsch" Berlin

FROM A GENEVA NOTEBOOK

by ULYSSES

(Our Geneva Correspondent)

THE Committee on Commercial Access to Raw Materials met at Geneva between March 8 and March 12, when it adjourned until June 21, and did very little save obey the laws of nature which govern committees and reproduce itself in sub-committees. Its members listened to five days of general discussion, the largest part of which was propaganda and platitudes As the much vaunted (by the British) attempt to lead Germany back to the League, re-start the World Economic Conference and generally usher in one of those newer and better eras in the post-war history of Europe, the whole thing was a stupid failure

Nevertheless, the meeting was instructive In the first place, Germany and Italy refused to attend Italy's absence was due to the policy of non-co-operation with any League body which it has pursued since the Abyssinian War, but the Italian authorities took the precaution of having an expert observer unofficially in Geneva during the Committee's discussions The German absence was due to the fact that the German Government thought—at the time when it turned down the League's invitation—that it was engaged in direct negotiations with Great Britain which might possibly result in Britain making some territorial concessions in the colonial field. Since that time, speeches made by British politicians and in particular the speech made in the Raw Materials Committee itself by Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, the economic adviser to the British Treasury, have shown clearly that Britain has no intention of ceding Germany any colonies, and also that trade concessions will not be made to Germany until the rigours of National-Socialism's " war economy " are abated.

Sir Frederick Leith-Ross dealt in comprehensive and thorough fashion with the German claim that her lack of colonies was responsible for her economic troubles, which he blamed by inference on her preference for guns rather than for butter. In this he was supported by Sir Henry Strakosch, the South African financier, who attacked the theory which divides the world into " haves " and " have-nots," and by the Russian expert, M. Rosenblum, who, after a general

declaration that the trade intentions of the Soviet Union were strictly honourable, then went on to say that the countries which complained of the lack of raw materials brought to mind not the picture of poor people standing before the windows of shops in which they could not hope to buy but of " a young man who had no money to pay his tailor, or even for his dinner, but who had enough to spend his nights in—shall we say—clubs."

Referring to the absence of Germany and Italy from the meeting, M. Rosenblum said that there was a French proverb which said, " Those absent are always wrong," and he added that it would be odd if the committee were to try to prove the contrary. This was in answer to extreme statements of the German case made by the Polish expert, Mr. Rose, who was felt to be on surer ground when he described the plight of his own country, which, he said, had on the one hand a rapidly increasing population which could not emigrate, and on the other, natural resources which could not be developed until capital was available. He pointed out that other people's tariff restrictions made it impossible for Poland to sell anything at all which would bring in the capital she so badly needed.

Poland's Tactical Move

Mr. Rose then went on to suggest that two sub-committees be set up, one to deal with the commercial aspect of the supply of raw materials, and the other to deal with the colonial question. This proposal was a procedural move which looks quite innocuous on the surface, but which had real significance. The British and Russians were quick to see this, and moved to defeat the Polish proposal. Neither of these countries would permit the committee to study the colonial aspect of the question at all, as they both contended that ownership of colonies had nothing to do with supplies of raw materials. On this point the British may be said to have made their point, but it would have been more gracious of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, and would have helped the work of the Committee to seem more realistic if he had made mention of the British tariff policy, which by closing vast markets has cut off all hope of a rational world economy.

The American expert on the committee was Mr. H. Grady, formerly head of the Foreign Trade Agreement Section of the Department of State, who refused to accept the glib assurance that

there was no raw materials problem save that occasioned by the distortions of national economy due to exaggerated arms programmes. At the same time, the American made it clear that he did not expect anything sensational in the nature of world adjustment to be effected. What he wanted in particular was the universal application of the most-favoured-nation principle, and in conclusion he took a fling at Empire preferences—at the end of his speech apologising for the preferences which had hitherto bound the United States and the Philippines This modest programme is in accordance with the policy which Mr Cordell Hull has been trying to carry out in signing individual trade treaties—a policy which may soon be extended to cover an Anglo-American treaty, following the visit to the United States of the President of the Board of Trade

The conclusion of a number of agreements on the American pattern, and some more research work on the question of raw materials as a whole are likely to be the utmost that can be hoped for as the direct outcome of the meetings of this committee, which, for the rest has demonstrated once again that the ills of the world cannot be cured by attempting to deal with one particular symptom The sort of thing that this committee has been trying to do is like trying to cure malnutrition by giving the patient lime juice to cure scurvy. In this particular instance it would seem, from the denial of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross and Sir Henry Strakosch that there is a raw materials problem at all, that the doctors disagree as to whether malnutrition exists or not

Territorial Change Ruled Out

Despite the fact that the committee was supposed to be dealing only with the technical aspects of the raw materials problem, there was hardly a word of economics or finance talked throughout the meeting. Everything, save for a plaintive attempt by the Canadian expert to point out to the committee what its terms of reference were, was entirely political Sir Henry Strakosch might deny that there were nations who were "haves" and others who were "have-nots" but that did not prevent the two biggest Empires that had experts on the committee—the British and the Soviet—standing firmly together against the suggestion that the bare possibility of territorial change should be discussed With them were associated the Portuguese,

who temporarily forsook the doctrines of their Fascist Allies when it appeared that those doctrines might lead to a discussion of the partitioning of Portugal's colonial empire.

For the rest, the experts took up the cudgels on behalf of the self-styled " have-nots " with a zeal which suggested the fear that those " have-nots " might soon become " haves." Even the American rated British Imperial Preferences higher on the list of public economic nuisances than the autarchy of Germany and other states. The other speakers, save for the Frenchman, who did not even take the trouble to come to Geneva, loyally set forth the German view that (1) autarchy was forced on the nations which practised it, and (2) that everything would be all right if concessions, either colonial or economic, were made to those nations. Very little was said to suggest that anybody thought of going beyond adjusting tariff levels, or transferring territories.

Towards a General Settlement

A general settlement of all these and other things is, of course, necessary within the next two years to prevent war. Everybody almost, except the representatives governments send to Geneva, appears to realise that now, but what is not so clearly realised is that if the general settlement is to take place, it must be preceded by a re-affirmation of the power and prestige of the League. This much is clear, for if there is a general settlement, in the nature of things Britain and other countries will have to make concessions, some, no doubt, to Germany, Japan and Italy. Under existing circumstances the governments of those countries would think that fear and not a desire to see justice done was responsible for the concessions. The mentality of the rulers of these lands being what it is, they would re-double pressure and increase their nuisance value with the idea of building up a German Empire, a Japanese Empire and an Italian Empire which would be far, far more terrible for the world than the existing British, Russian or French Empires ever have been.

But if the League is strengthened before the concessions are made, convincing proof can be given that, if international opinion does call for changes, those changes will not be for the exclusive benefit of one group of powers or that the changes can be made more far-reaching by threats.

THE FUTURE OF THE EX-GERMAN COLONIES—

THE DEBATE CONTINUES

Last month we published articles by Mr. W. H. Dawson and Mr. Duncan Sandys, M P. stating the case for and against a return to Germany of her former colonies Next month we hope to publish a statement of Germany's case by a German. Meanwhile Mr. Dawson and Mr. Sandys continue the debate

To the Editor,

SIR,—In view of Major Sandys' very unoriginal criticisms of my article on the German colonies, I need only reply on one or two matters not of opinion but of fact. Major Sandys challenges my statement that Great Britain surrendered to Belgium in 1923 part of her mandate in East Africa, and says that the territory in question went to that country in 1919. He should know that the transaction was not so simple as that. It is true that on May 31, 1919, Great Britain concluded with Belgium an agreement by which Ruanda and Urundi should go to her, though it excepted the Risukka part of the former territory. The terms of the mandate, however, were only laid down by a decision of the Council of the League of Nations dated August 23, 1923, and the mandate was accepted by Belgium by a law of October 20, 1924. In the meantime (December 31, 1923) the excepted territory was likewise ceded to Belgium by Great Britain, with the sanction of the League Council. My date, therefore, was not incorrect.

Again, with no justification whatever, Major Sandys says that in my article I was " at pains to point out the shortcomings of British administration." However serious these shortcomings may be—and a member of Parliament has special facilities for consulting official papers on the subject—I " pointed out " none of them. Further, it is emphatically not the case that " the most generally accepted view is that complete sovereignty passed to the Power to whom a territory was allocated " That view may be held by the aggressive imperialists in this country who are trying by underhand means to pervert the British mandates, but it is very unpopular abroad, and the League of Nations has vigorously repudiated it.

Moreover, Major Sandys' suggestion that Africa is to me " just a field for territorial bargaining, and its native populations (are) mere pawns in the European game," is ludicrous, seeing that since 1919 I have never ceased to protest against the action of the Allied Powers which were guilty of that unclean business in 1919, and have lost no opportunity of advocating the transfer of native territories in Africa and elsewhere to an International Trust and their administration under it by the various colonial Powers (including Germany) as mandatories. Major Sandys will do well to watch more closely the growth of public opinion on this question, for the time is fast coming when the " have-not " nations will be willing no longer to tolerate the existing exploitation of so large a part of the globe by a few privileged countries. It is certainly a foolish way of assuring the security of our Empire to grab up territory all over the world, wherever it can be had, even as in this case by foul means, so making the rest of mankind still more jealous, resentful, and discontented. There is only one sure guarantee of harmony between nations and individuals alike—it is to follow the golden rule of " Live and let live."

Yours faithfully

W. H. Dawson.

Headington,
Oxford.

THE REPLY

Sir,—Mr. Dawson complains that my reply to his article is " very unoriginal." Well-established facts, such as those upon which I preferred to base my arguments, may perhaps lack originality. However, they tend to carry greater conviction than colourful generalisations or unsubstantiated assertions.

In his article Mr. Dawson quoted " the case of Ruanda and Urundi, which Britain transferred to Belgium in 1923," as a precedent for the renunciation of a mandate. However in his present letter he admits that this took place not in 1923, as he had stated, but in May, 1919, before the mandates or the League of Nations even existed. As for the subsequent transfer of the Risukka district, this was nothing

more than a frontier adjustment, involving no question of principle. *The Times* of September 3, 1923, describing the nature of the arrangement, stated : " A geographical boundary has been substituted for an artificial frontier."

Without advancing any alternative theory, Mr. Dawson challenges the view that sovereignty is in the main vested in the mandatory power. The League has never defined the precise legal status of a mandated territory. The interpretation which I advanced is the one accepted by the South African Court of Appeal in the case of Rex v. Christian and is supported by many of the most eminent jurists.

Whilst I am not conversant with Mr. Dawson's expressions of opinion in 1919, I do not think that I misinterpreted the spirit of his recent article in the WORLD REVIEW. In fact the second sentence of the last paragraph of his letter, published above, confirms my impression that he is more interested in the rival claims of the " have " and the " have-not " nations of Europe than in the happiness of the peoples of Africa, which he appears to regard as just a field for " exploitation."

I agree with Mr Dawson that the key to international harmony is to be found in the principle of " Live and let live." It is, in fact, the absence of just that spirit of " Live and let live " in Germany's dealings with her neighbours and in her treatment of her own citizens which makes us hesitate to welcome her as a neighbour in Africa or to transfer to her rule backward native peoples for whose welfare and for whose development towards ultimate self-government we have accepted a solemn trust

Mr. Dawson advises me to watch the growth of public opinion. This I have been doing for some time past and have been more than gratified by what I have observed In the last twelve months British public opinion has been steadily crystallizing. Liberals and Socialists every bit as much as " aggressive imperialists " have declared themselves opposed to the transfer of these territories to Germany. Another twelve months and the agitation will peter out for want of champions.

Yours faithfully,

DUNCAN SANDYS.

House of Commons.

RHINELAND IN AFRICA

by PATRICK BALFOUR

From the "Evening Standard," London

Other articles in our colonial debate have dealt with the issue from an abstract, Whitehall-Wilhelmstrasse standpoint. In the following article Mr. Balfour takes us into one of Germany's former colonies, shows us how the transfer has actually worked out and how Europeans and natives in the Cameroons react to the European debate

THERE is, in West Africa, a river called the Mungo. It is not a large river. In some stretches it is not more than a hundred yards wide, and you can wade across.

But the Mungo has recently acquired the nervous significance of an international frontier. It is Africa's Rhineland. For on one side of it are the French and on the other are the Germans.

The Mungo divides the former German colony of the Cameroons into two unequal portions. To the east is the major area under French mandate. To the west is a small strip of British mandated territory, including the Cameroon Mountain, administered by the Government of Nigeria.

Administered by Britain, maybe. But no more. For all practical purposes, this small strip of mandated territory is again a German colony.

In 1924 the extensive German rubber, cocoa, oil and banana plantations in the region of the Cameroon Mountain were put up to public auction in London. There were no offers.

The following year, at a second auction, they were sold to Germany. German firms bought back their original concessions with the compensation money paid to them by the British at the end of the war.

Thirteen of the plantations in the British Cameroons are today in German hands. Two only belong to British companies.

The German population of the territory is over two hundred. The British population (mainly administrative) is about thirty.

At Tiko, opposite the French port of Duala, the Germans have a port of their own. German boats bring the British a weekly mail, and take back a quarter of a million bunches of bananas per month to Germany.

The Germans employ twelve thousand native labourers, and assist the British administration by collecting the head tax from each.

They live in considerable comfort, with electric light, which the British have not got, and they are always ready to lend the British their cars, which are quickly shaken to bits on the indifferent British roads.

For the most part they are experienced colonials who knew the country before the war. As employers they have the reputation of severity tempered with justice.

The mandatory power, by limiting corporal punishment to a minimum, cramps the exercise of discipline among their workers, and by prohibiting the pre-war system of contracts, deprives them of any guarantee of assured labour

Apart from this (and the roads) they make no complaints against British methods. But they want the country back. They make no secret of it. And their argument is purely economic.

Under the existing system they are obliged to pay their labour, transport, and Customs duties in sterling. To acquire this sterling they are obliged to export 50 per cent. of their cocoa, rubber and palm oil, and a smaller percentage of their bananas, to England.

With a reversion to German rule the whole of this produce would be released for home consumption in Germany. Moreover, they maintain that production, even within the limits of the existing concessions, could be considerably increased if German currency were available for the further development of the soil.

In this way, for instance, the whole of Germany's banana requirements could be supplied from the Cameroons, and she could dispense with her West Indian imports.

Meanwhile, the British officials and the German planters remain on the best of terms

On the French side of the Mungo the story is very different.

There are today not more than fifty Germans in the whole of the French Cameroons, an area nine times as large as the British.

France took good care that Germany should not have the opportunity of getting her plantations back again, and when the Germans were readmitted they were only able to secure concessions too small to be profitable.

France realised from the start that she was in on a good thing in acquiring the Cameroons, and proceeded to develop it with energy, efficiency and a keen weather eye on Geneva.

Economically the country pays its way and is among the richest of her West African possessions. Politically it gives her an unbroken stretch of France from the Congo to the Mediterranean, just as Tanganyika gives us an unbroken stretch of England from the Nile Valley to the Cape.

It is a network of admirable roads. The administration is liberal. Agriculturally, it encourages native rather than European cultivation, to give the native as big as share as possible in the wealth of his own soil.

The Germans maintain that the country could be developed five times more than it is. The French maintain that this could only be achieved at the expense of the native.

The truth probably lies somewhere between the two claims. Certainly France could only develop the Cameroons to the full at the expense of her other exporting colonies. Certainly Germany, who had barely had time to pacify the country east of the Mungo by 1914, had not yet shown evidence of such liberalism as would appeal to Geneva.

As for the natives themselves, they are probably more or less evenly divided in their preference.

Meanwhile the banks of the Mungo bristle with suspicion. The French crane their necks across the river in search of secret military preparations in the German jungle. A German is expelled from the country for shouting " A bas Blum ! " in a Duala café.

The French keep explaining to you, with the aid of a map, how easy it would be for the Germans across the Mungo to strike a sudden *coup d'état*, and say, " What are you going to do about it ? "

At which the Germans smile in tolerant amusement, remark, " It is for the Führer to decide," and go on planting their cocoa, their rubber, their palm trees and their bananas with Teutonic deliberation.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

Austria "Farà da Se"?

EVERY few weeks Dr von Schuschnigg, the unimpressive Austrian Chancellor, blinks behind his glasses and repeats, "Our future regime is a matter for ourselves alone to decide" Austria's neighbours disagree. Even Dr. von Schuschnigg himself is not quite convinced and adds the rider that "the restoration of the Habsburgs is not an actual question."

Which, of course, it is. Witness the recent visit of Archduke Otto's agent, Baron Wiesner, to London, where in a series of semi-public *exposés* (interlarded with much Ruritanian intrigue) he did his best to advance the imperial cause.

A friend from Vienna assures me that even the hitherto implacable opponents of restoration, Roumania and Jugoslavia, have been reconciled to the idea Plans, he said, had been made for their diplomatic representatives to be conveniently absent on holiday from Vienna when Otto returned, and the exact amount of official indignation to be expressed had been agreed upon

The Pretender

The claimant to the throne of Austria (and, if feasible, to the Hungarian crown as well) is an erect and well-built young man, with something of the family puffiness about the face.

For some years now, Otto has lived with his scheming and masterful mother, the ex-Empress Zita, in a country house at Steenockerzeel in Belgium His holidays have been mainly spent in France, where he is a well-known figure, particularly at St. Jean de Luz.

Patron of the Basques

When in the Basque country, he is often to be seen presiding with an air of studious grace over pelota matches, folk dance festivals and torchlight processions

A devout Catholic, although by no means bigoted, he attends mass regularly in the little Basque churches, one of his favourites being the chapel at Sare where Pierre Loti, although an agnostic, was drawn to worship against his own will.

Polyglot

At home in Belgium, Otto works hard. He is a doctor of medicine of Louvain University and speaks German, French and Italian perfectly. At one time his Hungarian accent was faulty, but this "diplomatic blunder" has now been rectified.

Besides being well informed about all Austrian affairs and about the situation in Europe, he has for his age—he is only 24—an astonishing knowledge of the diplomatic back-stairs gossip. Hardly a *bon mot* is made in Europe without reaching his ears

ARCHDUKE OTTO

The Habsburg heir poses in national costume. Will Austria turn to this young man and the glamour of his ancient dynasty—or to Hitler?

Hard Times

At present, Otto and his family live in comfort. It was not always so. At the time when the ex-Emperor Carl was exiled to Madeira, they were reduced to severe straits. Gifts of food from Viennese tradesmen, themselves not well off, alone kept the wolf from the door.

The Matriarch

The ex-Empress has never lost faith in her son's cause. She was a princess of Bourbon Parma and a descendant of the intrepid Duchesse de Berry who had the misfortune to give birth to a child while escaping from Orleanist France, disguised as a man.

Brought up first at a Bavarian convent and then at Schloss Schwarzau in Austria, the Princess had a thoroughly German education before her marriage into the Habsburg family, which she now dominates. Otto has views of his own : but his mother has an irritating habit of knowing his own mind for him. The phrase "Otto thinks . . ." sprinkles her conversation without always carrying conviction.

The People's Prince

If Otto is to return, the Austrians would prefer to hear him speak without an intermediary and so are less ready to welcome Zita. The problem of Otto's title would then have to be raised. He would not be called Emperor, but probably Archduke of Federal Austria and *Landesfurst*, "Prince of the Land," equivalent almost to "tribal chief," the title which he is most anxious to have recognised.

Promised Land

During his recent visit to Liechtenstein, Otto was able to glance across the fields at his native Austria. Did he have any misgivings? For a nice, intelligent, well brought up young man to ascend to the throne of a central European country seems a thankless task. Vienna has been the scene of countless riots since the war : a great Chancellor has been murdered But exiled kings have only one *raison d'être*: to be pretenders to the throne. Otto has no other career open to him.

The New Dictator

The personality of General Francisco Franco is by no means flamboyant, yet, as dictator of more than half Spain, he deserves study. Unlike Hitler or Mussolini, he is neither mystical nor sanguine. Instead, there is about him much of the real *Juan Español*, that hard-headed, day-to-day philosopher, the Spanish man in the street.

Franco *père* was a naval commander at Ferrol in Galicia. All his three sons were expected to join the services. Nicolas, the eldest, became a naval officer and now advises his brother : Francisco entered

the Infantry Academy : Ramon, the youngest, joined the Air Force and distinguished himself by an Atlantic flight.

A Soldier First

Like few other dictators, Franco rose, not by propaganda and political intrigue, but by real ability in his profession. On leaving the Academy, he volunteered to fight under General Berenguer in Morocco. The white horse he always rode made him an easy mark and he was wounded in the stomach. Shortly afterwards, he was gazetted a major at the age of 23. "*Franco, c'est quelqu'un,*" was Lyautey's comment on meeting him at this period.

Rough Company

Franco's next task was to help form the Spanish Legion. At first, this reserved, thoughtful strategist was very unpopular with the "toughs" of the Legion. Gradually his courage and outspokenness won them over. Under his leadership, they reconquered the Melilla zone from the Riffs. Franco was twice decorated with the Military Medal, the highest Spanish decoration, and in 1926, at the age of 34, was promoted to be General.

It remains a mystery why so careful a student of military strategy should have committed the appalling blunder of making his direct attack on Madrid last November.

Country before Party

A great success in another sphere was his administration of the newly-opened military academy at Saragossa. In 1931, the Republican Government closed the Academy and Franco was without a job. He did not, however, at once take up a political line. "The country must come first," was his much quoted remark at the time. "Soldiers should have nothing to do with politics."

The return of a right-wing Government brought him the Governorship of the Balearic Islands, but he was later recalled to quell the Asturias revolt. Later he was sent to command the troops in Morocco.

Efficiency Unlimited

By habit abstemious, Franco talks little for a Spaniard and never gives himself away. Cleanshaven, with a cheerful, round face, he is the same height as Napoleon. In military matters, he memorises details well and decides quickly, without letting himself be easily influenced.

One of his hardest tasks has been to maintain unity among his supporters. He has so far succeeded with a tact unexpected in a soldier. For instance, the Burgos junta originally wanted to proclaim him "Supreme head of the Spanish State." He refused, knowing that it would offend the Royalists. "Call me Head of the *Government* of the Spanish State," he insisted instead.

The Dilemma

Franco is an honest patriot and is said to be no lover of upper class privilege, despite some of the odd and ancient aristocrats whom he allows to represent (or is it really misrepresent?) him abroad. To him, the other side means the disruption of Spain. Like many people today, he has been caught between two extremes and forced to decide for one. If he wins, his chief difficulty may prove to be his ignorance of politics.

Ostracised

The master of proletarian phrase, Bukharin, has been expelled from the Communist Party—the equivalent of being horsewhipped on the steps of the Athenaeum It looks, though, as if he will escape further punishment

Bukharin became known here in 1927 when Sir Austen Chamberlain, then Foreign Secretary, happened to read one of his speeches. In it, he advised the comrades to "sharpen their swords for the world proletarian war against British Capitalism"

Instead of treating this verbiage with the contempt it deserved, Sir Austen sent an urgent note of complaint to Moscow, quoting long sections of the speech The note was published and thousands of Englishmen who would otherwise never have seen it read Chamberlain's extracts in their own press The laugh was on Sir Austen.

Happy Thought

During the Revolution, Bukharin's gift of phrase was a godsend to Lenin. In 1917, communist thought laid all its emphasis on materialism. "But," argued many of the Red Army rank and file, "if we are to be materialists, why should we die for the Revolution?" Bukharin found the necessary formula. "You must die for the sake of practical idealism," he announced. The comrades went back to fight reassured.

HITLER OR HABSBURG—

AN EVIL GHOST

From "L'Ère Nouvelle" (Radical), Paris

Austria's future is still uncertain. Last month saw a revival of talk that Archduke Otto would be re-established on the ancestral Habsburg throne, as checkmate to Hitler's hopes for union of his native land with the German Reich. Here a French writer expresses his country's regret and doubts about the necessity for either alternative

WILL Franz - Joseph - Otto - Robert - Marie - Antoine - Charles - Maximilian - Henry - Sixtus - Xavier - Felix - Renatus - Louis - Gaetanus - Pius - Ignatius succeed ?

A few months ago this young man of many names declared : "The time for decisive action has come. I am ready at any moment to return to my country in order to restore to Austria her former unity, her former strength and her one-time prosperity. I alone represent the legitimist principle established by God above all conflicts and rivalries. . . . The concentration of all forces is essential. With God's

aid I could do it, for my title does not come to me from any one group." And his supporters go one further : better, they say, an emperor than the *Anschluss*.

Hitler or Habsburg ? *Anschluss* or restoration ? Thus formulated, the problem demands a choice. The *Anschluss* solution is ruled out. And restoration ? We are told that the emperor will be quite a little emperor ; that his empire will be quite a small empire ; that without persecuting anybody, he will put through magnificent social reforms, inspired by the precepts of his Louvain masters. So they say.

We are living in a very unhappy age if, in order to appease Europe, such an evil ghost of dead days has to be revived. His name itself is a menace, nay worse, a tradition. The Habsburg State with its parasitic nobility, Jesuits, police, jailers and hangmen—the State of the incapable, the frivolous and the gamblers

What dark memories for Czechs, Jugoslavs and Rumanians lie in the name of Habsburg And these memories are stronger than all the promises of the young student of Louvain.

Restoration or *Anschluss ?* One or the other ? Why ? " You do not choose," it was once said, " between cholera and plague ; you say *no* to one and *no* to the other." Why indeed must Austria restrict her choice to cholera and plague ? Let us see if there really are no other solutions.

Europe's Completest Dictatorship

What is the present regime in Austria ? There are no elections, no Parliament, no freedom. Dictatorship, pure and simple. All power, according to the Constitution, is in the hands of the President. He nominates the members of " Parliament," the judges and the officials ; he has the right to replace ordinary legislative procedure by decree , he has the same right, by decree, to reform the Constitution.

In Italy or Germany the electors have no political reality ; but the dictators *do* ask their peoples to make a symbolic gesture. Not so in Austria. Not even a plebiscite It is a political regime divorced from the people. And the President, all powerful, is not even elected by the people This Constitution is the strangest doctrine of twentieth-century political reaction It is the only dictatorial Constitution in which the people are not called upon, even for a short time, to go

HOW AN EMPIRE BROKE UP. *World Review*
The Habsburg domains of 1914 and the Succession States today

through an electoral formality. The best comment on this Constitution came from a Viennese wit who suggested the addition of a new article to the Constitution : " The President nominates the people."

Austrian Fascists will tell you that it is the only way, that the majority of the people want the *Anschluss*. To give the people for twenty-four hours the right to vote would, they say, mean the overthrow of the regime ; the only way to stave off this disaster is to deprive the people of their vote so that they cannot freely express their will.

The pro-Hitler movement is, of course, strong in Austria. But we refuse to believe that all the Socialist workers, all the Jewish traders, all the Catholics, and all the suppressed intellectuals want to become slaves of Hitler. The supporters of Hitler are a minority. So are the supporters of a restoration. And the majority ? The people, weary of long years of crisis, want neither a Hitler Terror nor a

restoration. The view that there are only two solutions is false. There is a third—a return to normal political life, to honesty and democratic institutions. This solution is the only one compatible with reason and right and with the security of neighbouring peoples.

We want no ghosts. Habsburgs in twentieth-century Europe are more than an anachronism—they are a violation of common sense.

UNREAL AND DANGEROUS

From the "Corriere della Sera," Milan

Mussolini could once have been counted upon not to oppose Archduke Otto's restoration But his agreement with Hitler on a common policy —the so-called "Berlin-Rome axis"—has changed all that, it appears The latest restoration talk brought, unexpectedly, this official pronouncement from Italy :

IN some foreign circles they continue to talk of a Habsburg restoration. In this respect Italy's attitude is very clear and precise : Italy considers the problem of restoration in Austria unreal and dangerous. Unreal, because nobody either in Austria or outside feels today any need of a change in the present political regime, which has received its certificate, and is deeply entrenched in the national conscience. Dangerous, because even the raising of such a question could provoke new causes for disturbance

Italy has never discussed the problem even in its theoretical aspects. It would be desirable if the same silence could be maintained by all the other responsible parties.

HITLER'S PRICE

From "Le Temps" (organ of French Foreign Office), Paris

The Italian declaration was not welcomed in France, indicating as it did close collaboration between the two Dictators. The article referred to below was identical in tone with the extract quoted above :

IF the article in the *Giornale d'Italia* is a faithful reflection of the opinions of the Duce and the Fascist Cabinet, we are forced to recognise that the Italo-German understanding goes very much further and deeper than we had believed, and that the Rome government is

prepared to sacrifice to it, provisionally at least, the most obvious Italian interests in Central Europe. This is how far we are from the time of the Nazi "putsch" in Vienna and the murder of Dollfuss, when Mussolini brought several divisions up to the Brenner in order to intervene immediately, if necessary, in defence of Austrian independence. Today, Italy and Germany are acting in concert, and it is clear enough that it is Rome which is giving way to the demands of Berlin.

We realise perfectly well that Fascist Italy is in a difficult position, that the sacrifices made by her in the conquest of Abyssinia have deprived her of full freedom of action on the Continent, that she is not able, in view of the present international situation, to free herself from a friendship with Germany which becomes more exacting from day to day. It was easy to foresee the present turn of events when Mussolini, fearing to find himself isolated in Europe, sought an understanding with the Reich and himself brought Germany into Central

THE FOREIGN LEGION OF THE THIRD REICH (according to Moscow)

Goering? Present
Franco? Present
Trotsky? Present
The Pope? Present
De la Rocque? Present
Hearst? Present
Beck? Present
Doriot, Chiappe, Mosley, Hirota, Tzankoff?
Away on service!

"*Krokodil*" *Moscow*

Europe. In this way he consented to a division of influence in Austria, a singularly unwise policy for which it is only too certain that Fascist Italy will one day have to pay the full price.

Has Italy at least obtained from Germany formal assurances in regard to the immediate future? If this is so, it would still remain unknown what these assurances will be worth when, with the revival of pan-German agitation inside Austria, the question of *Anschluss* becomes one of pressing urgency.

ALL ROADS LEAD TO BERLIN

From "Le Populaire" (Socialist Organ of M. Blum), Paris

What about the other factors in the game? The Vatican, exceptionally powerful in Austria, and the Little Entente countries, also have a word to say

THERE is also the Vatican, which was once definitely in favour of a Habsburg restoration. We do not believe that the Papacy has changed its mind, but new factors have caused a modification of the problem. The Vatican is concerned with the position of catholics in Germany, and in certain circles it is considered likely that the cause of the legitimists in Austria will be abandoned in return for a favourable compromise with Hitler.

It is no mere chance that many elements of the former Christian-Socialist Party have recently approached the Nazis and that their paper, the *Reichspost*, has taken up the cause of Pangermanism.

It only remains to examine the attitude of the Little Entente. Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania are not all equally hostile to the *Anschluss* of Austria with Germany, but all three are strongly opposed to a Habsburg restoration. The reasons are obvious and known to all: the restoration of the former monarchy in Vienna might endanger the very existence of the States which arose out of the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian empire. An Austrian monarchy would be the rallying-point for centrifugal forces which still exist in the new States.

Another reason justifies the opposition of the Little Entente. The alternative: "*Anschluss* or a restoration" is not a genuine one.

A restoration would not exclude the *Anschluss*, since it would not alter the relationship of the forces inside Austria.

This relationship could only change if the working class resumed its political rôle and were once more able to exert its influence on the destiny of Austria. Apart from a return to democracy, all roads from Austria lead to Berlin.

NOT WANTED—THE GERMAN VIEW

From the " Schlesische Zeitung," Breslau

IN accordance with the terms of the Austro-German Agreement of July 11, 1936, Germany agreed not to intervene in the internal affairs of Austria. But the question of a Habsburg restoration cannot possibly be considered as a purely internal question. On the one hand it is an all-German affair, on the other an international European problem. As regards the latter, the Italian declaration shows that an attempt at restoration would endanger the peace of Central Europe. The attitude of the States of the Little Entente is equally well known. It is a basic principle of these States that a Habsburg restoration must be resisted, for were it to take place the structure and security of these States would be seriously imperilled. It must be remembered that all Habsburgs are bound by the Pragmatic Sanction, i.e., they may never renounce a territory which has at any time been under the Habsburg crown.

The Habsburg question has also its special German side. The Agreement of July 11 between Berlin and Vienna is mutual. The Austrian government on its side contracted the solemn obligation to pursue a policy which should be determined by the fact that the Austrian people are a German people, and that the policy of the Austrian government must always serve all-German ends. It is obvious that the restoration of the ruling-house of Parma-Bourbon, which is called Habsburg but is not, despite its name, German—would after the experiences of the last decades be a blow aimed at the German people and its desires. The enthusiastic reception of the German Foreign Minister leaves no doubt that the Austrian people unanimously reject political attempts calculated to erect an impassable barrier between Austria and the German Reich. An attempt to

restore the Habsburgs would not only be contrary to the wishes of the Austrian people, but also a breach by the Austrian government of her Treaty obligations. The rejection of a Habsburg restoration is as unanimous on the German side as on the Italian.

WHERE RAGS ARE RAGS

From the "Neuigkeitsweltblatt," Vienna

The German word "Lumpen," it should be explained, may mean either rogues or rags. This Vienna paper makes use of the fact to express the economic superiority of Austria over Germany

"LUMPENWIRTSCHAFT"—this is not an insult, but the title given by the *Deutsche Reichsanzeiger* (German Official Gazette) for a new field of economy discovered by the Third Reich, and declared to be highly important. We learn from a regulation issued by the "Supervisory Department for Wool and Animal Hair" that the sale of rags for re-manufacture may only be effected through those organisations which have received a special permit from the Supervisory Department. The regulation also fixes maximum prices for rags.

We only wish to remark with regard to these official announcements made by the German authorities, that many newspapers of the Reich would do better to look at conditions at home before criticising the state of Austrian industry. *We* have not yet reached the point of fixing maximum prices for rags, and we hope never to reach it. Rags with us are just rags. In the Third Reich they are highly valuable goods. This difference between Germany and Austria is a sign of the times.

PHYSICAL JERKS FOR SEEDLINGS

Prof W E Burge, botanist at the University of Illinois, has described a series of weight-lifting exercises for seedlings which help them to develop into husky plants.

Professor Burge has found that plants which were exercised daily and forced to keep strict training regulations, were able to perform 40 per cent more "work" by the end of the first 30 days' experiment, than non-enrollees. The exercises were accomplished by attaching tiny weights to the leaves of seedlings, causing the plants to strengthen their structure in response to the extra burden.—*Christian Science Monitor*, Boston

BRITAIN RE-ARMS ~

A VITAL STEP

From the "Nationalzeitung," Basle, Switzerland

From a small, democratic, centrally-placed country, an observer is in a good position to comment on the significance of Britain's £1,500,000,000 re-armament programme. Here is a good example of a disinterested survey

THE huge loan of £400,000,000 which the British Government is proposing to raise caused almost less surprise in England than on the Continent. The government had for long let it be known that its re-armament would demand a huge financial outlay, and the amount of the loan, though unexpected, seems not to have raised any fears. With unsparing frankness the Chancellor of the Exchequer could point out that it was not at all certain whether the £1,500,000,000 might not have to be increased.

All this is taking place in an atmosphere of grave, almost apologetic regret over the large amount of money which has to be spent on so unwelcome a thing, and yet with completely unshakable determination. Government and people are at one in the conviction that these efforts to preserve the integrity of the Empire are essential.

Though agreed on the necessity for re-armament itself, the British people is not at one with its government on the question of its personal contribution to home defence. Army recruiting is still slow. The general dislike of military life, which has always been regarded by the average Englishman as a tedious and not very reputable, albeit necessary, element, seeks to evade a decision by pacifist slogans and excuses. For the foreign situation, though tense, does not seem to hold any acute danger. It is still hoped that material re-armament will be enough. Fond illusions are entertained that the European tension is the result of misunderstandings which can be removed by fine words and concessions. The people are blind to the reality that, with the claims of the dynamic dictatorships to dominate Europe, the existence of the British Empire is in danger.

This state of mind will not soon pass, and probably it would need a clear case of aggression on the continent, as in 1914, to call

forth a determined attitude. It has almost always been the same. English history is full of periods of indifference and faint-heartedness. And now we hear that those who up till now were fanatical adherents of the League idea have not, after the Abyssinian calamity, drawn the logical conclusion that armed force is necessary in order to achieve collective aims, but have in large numbers gone over to pure pacifism, rejecting completely all armed resistance

The government, out of consideration for such tendencies, is at pains to stress the present need to re-arm as the result of the neglect of former pacifist cabinets. England, it says, generously began to disarm in order to show her love of peace ; but because the other Powers did not follow this noble example, England was no longer able to carry through her peaceful intentions and is today, as a result, compelled to make almost superhuman efforts. But the reasons for England's arms deficiencies are not quite so idealistic as all that. The only two pacifist cabinets of post-war years were the two short MacDonald Labour cabinets Before 1931 Baldwin himself was

LION OF ST MARK
"Hullo, Mister, What are your big wings for?"
BRITISH LION
"Why, of course, only so that I can fly to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva!"

"Simplicissimus," Munich.

twice at the helm. And during the whole period it was not so much enthusiasm for pacifist ideals as weariness of arms, an understandable repugnance to undertake such unwelcome tasks, which made huge expenditure on armaments seem so undesirable to the sober island-people, worn out by the sacrifices of the war.

As usual this material desire was cloaked as a moral ideal, and considerable impatience was felt with France, who, not being in so secure a position, did not disarm. But as soon as German re-armament in the air threatened the hitherto immune island position of Britain, the ideal disappeared and the demand for disarmament became merely theoretical.

Troublesome Foreigners

Between the English people and its government, there is unexpressed agreement on the distastefulness of unproductive expenditure. Both agree, too, in the expression of this distastefulness. The difference between them is only one of degree as to the extent to which the British Empire is threatened by the tense European situation. The man-in-the-street does not consider the danger serious so long as he suffers no personal disadvantage and business is good. He agrees of course on the necessity of the defence expenditure, but his personal opinion is that the damned foreigners over on the Continent are a pack of troublesome fighting-cocks, and that his own statesmen exaggerate their differences because they do not know how to make these foreign disturbers of the peace understand the sensible English standpoint—that peace is what is wanted.

It is significant that the arms programme and the loan have found much more spontaneous approval in the Dominions. There, in the exposed danger zones of the Empire, where the loss of prestige over Abyssinia has been most keenly felt, the resolve of the mother country to re-assert her power has been welcomed with relief.

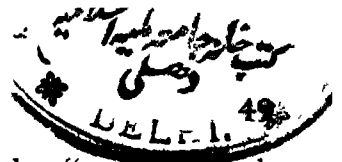
For the aim of this re-armament is not merely to ward off danger but also to enable Britain to re-assert her power. The huge programme is of course intended as a means of preserving peace, but the Baldwin Cabinet, and the future Cabinet of Neville Chamberlain, does not interpret this in a passive sense, but will use the whole weight of its new arms for an active modelling of Europe on lines it lays down.

The unprecedented efforts on which England has resolved after long hesitation are internationally the most important consequence of the rise of the post-war dictatorships, and their effects may possibly outlive the latter.

THE SCAPEGOAT
Democracies Bid for Mastery

From the "Berliner Tageblatt"

FOR fifteen years it cost the English little or nothing to sympathise with those German needs which did not completely harmonise with the conception prevailing in Paris of what was good enough for Germans. Even though French domination over the Continent seemed to be following Napoleonic paths, it was easy to find in Germany a partner who paid with German concessions whenever England was short of political cash. Since 1933 the English have had each time to dig deeper into their own pockets. But when that kind of thing goes on with no prospect of ending, the decision has finally to be made to put a stop to an obnoxious habit once and for all by paying out one sum of terrific proportions. Hence the £1,500,000,000 arms expenditure, which has just cast its shadow over world affairs. Nor is it merely a question of money payments—although that, "by Jove!" would be enough in itself.

One even hears talk of total re-armament. And rightly so. For modern re-armament cannot, as in the past, be hung up in a cupboard like a best dress. If the people want to get used to it, they must wear it. It is bound to influence the life of a nation, though more strongly perhaps in some countries than in others. It is understandable that a democracy, whose belief it has always been that the gun should lie hidden in the cupboard and be kept only for serious occasions, should meet the announcement of a plan of general re-armament with strong repugnance. Is there not the example of the French who, caring more for their predominance than for democracy, loaded themselves down with arms till the ship looked like sinking? Besides, is not this approach of a nation to a condition in which alone it can hope to survive in the great

decisions of the present time, this approach to the " total " stand-point, is it not a first and perhaps decisive step towards that conception of the world which Germany has long been reproached for holding ?

In the first English White Paper on re-armament, it was claimed that Germany's re-armament made it necessary for Britain to re-arm ; and in a recent speech Sir Samuel Hoare repeated this claim. We do not under-estimate the need felt by the Western democracies for clear, moral justifications for their acts. Our experiences in such matters date back to well before the Great War. And so we must be pardoned for our fear that, this time too, events may take the same course. What has already been said about Germany's responsibility for a Europe bristling with arms is only the prelude to what may come if, in spite of the great reserves of the British Empire, the burden of re-armament there is more keenly felt by every individual with every day that passes, and if the life of the nation becomes daily more uncertain under terrific pressure. Then, as a few short decades ago, the necessity for finding a scapegoat on which to unload might swell into one of those natural catastrophes which resulted in the Great War.

Our purpose in indicating the outcome of such a development is only to show the more clearly what must be done today. Europe is at a critical point in its recovery. The aim of British and French

GOERING GOES HUNTING IN POLAND
" Let's share You take the boar, and I'll take Danzig "

" Marianne," Paris.

re-armament is to restore their old ascendancy to the Western democracies. They believe they will be able to arrange the world as they want it when re-armament is complete. The goal is clear : England wants once more to be umpire in Europe as she was during the fifteen years after the War. Today she is more the ally of France than she would care to admit. The question is whether this goal *can* still be attained , whether, in disputes between continental States, England's word or promised support can ever be the deciding factor, without her pledging herself up to the hilt, i.e., " totally." If this thesis, which has its most convinced supporters in the British Cabinet, is Utopian, then it is fraught with extreme danger and would be extremely reactionary. It would be nothing more than a checkmate move against the onward march of revision.

Of course England has the right to re-arm We would be the last to dispute this, seeing that we made so important a contribution to the British task of maintaining Europe's position in the world by signing the Anglo-German Naval Treaty What we object to is not England's armaments. But it *is* our duty to point out the danger of allowing the opinion to spread that the Reich is the cause of the arms burden which the British people have to bear In this way a barrier would arise which would destroy any useful effect of armaments, which are in any case clearly inevitable now. Armaments are not necessarily an absolute evil They make for clear relationships and make possible freer speech and assured agreements.

Germany's equal Right

But this is only attainable if the equal right of all peoples to the armaments they consider necessary is recognised Serious people in France and England have agreed that Germany's arms are necessary to Germany. But if these arms are said to be the root of the evil, that means that we are refused (at least morally) equal rights. In other words : They would like to deny us equal rights if this could be done without difficulty and danger. They have not yet got used to the idea that the vacuum in Central Europe is now filled by a German Reich, which is doing nothing but asserting its natural weight. If that is regarded as a transgression against Europe, and enlarged into a general psychosis by the Western democracies, it will greatly increase

the difficulty of liberating the nations from a state of mind which, however subtly one may choose to disguise it, bears the stamp of Versailles.

Through armaments it is hoped to create the means of supervising and regulating a revisionist movement whose home and origin is considered to be the national-socialist Reich. Germany wants to live. But because, in order to live, she had to push aside barriers which were intended to cramp her life, attempts are made to outlaw her. But it has been proved times without number that the *status quo* of 1919 cannot survive if the European peoples are to live and prosper. In many places where German influence does not penetrate life has overgrown or undermined the Treaties. It was believed that the revision conceded to Turkey in the Dardanelles and in Alexandretta would be models of revision for the future. Much more ought to have been learnt from them than that.

If the Western European mind regards general revision as a phenomenon so far-reaching, impenetrable and incalculable, the reason is that in Versailles, for the sake of illusions, life was violated, and buried under mountains of paper in Geneva. But weak roots which want nothing but to put forth a short stem and a small flower are able to push aside stones which stop them reaching the light. It is not Germany that is the great reviser whose shadow lies over the British mind, but Life itself. Life, always stronger than the work of human hand, oversteps boundaries, and climbs over ramparts, whatever obstacles are put in the way. Life is the great reviser.

KISSES AND HORRORS TABOO

A new and more severe code for the censorship of foreign films has been formally adopted in Japan.

The new code, besides protecting special Japanese susceptibilities, prohibits disrespect to royalty, the ridiculing of soldiers and sailors and anything depicting the horrors of battlefields.

Kissing scenes, which have long been subject to shortening or deletion, are to be even more drastically dealt with than hitherto.—*North China Herald, Shanghai.*

ALL VERY VOLUNTARY

According to information received from Rome, the Italian Government has decided to suspend the dispatch of volunteers to Spain. In consequence, all the Italian volunteers already in Franco's army will be immediately begged voluntarily to rejoin their regiments in Italy.—*Le Canard Enchaîné, Paris.*

JOHN BULL ARMS

"Well, if they're voting hundreds of millions for destruction, an' chargin' it to the account of our generation when we grow up, we may as well have the satisfaction of taking a smack at things ourselves"

"Dublin Opinion"

"We don't want to fight but, by jingo, if we do we've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too!"

(Popular English refrain)

Doewe, *"Haagsche Post," The Hague*

IN THE LIE-KITCHEN

Too many cooks spoil the broth.

(Note Mr. Vernon Bartlett in top right-hand corner !)

"*Kladderadatsch*," Berlin

PRAECEPTOR EUROPAE

Schoolmaster Eden gives a League of Nations lesson to Europe at Eton.

"*Kladderadatsch*," Berlin

THE NORDIC MISSIONARY

LIBERTY AND BUTTER

From " Det Tredie Standpunkt," Copenhagen

We are able all too infrequently to print expressions of opinion from Denmark. That sturdy little country has been placed in a difficult position both by England's abandonment of a free trade policy, and the emergence of a powerful National-Socialist neighbour with a belief in her Nordic mission. Here we give an article from a paper " The Third Standpoint," which aims at giving a national point of view, and fears Denmark may find herself, willy-nilly, in Germany's arms

AS is well known, National Socialism deduces a special Nordic mission for Germany from the fact that it was she who suppressed Communism. Russia has perverted Dostojevski's faith in the Christian mission of the Russian people to the idea of world revolution ; Germany does the same with the race and the people.

But for us, who aim at a Christian state, the difference between Communism and National Socialism is only one of internal politics, and the victory of the one over the other cannot give even temporal consecration to a European mission.

Against its own history Germany is turning away from the Mediterranean, and feels itself a Nordic, a Baltic country. Germany is thus given a Nordic task, formulated by the race, that substitute God which is acknowledged as so great a metaphysical reality that it justifies Germany in leading the Nordic states back to their own nature even against their will.

Within the last three or four years there has arisen in Germany a complete Baltic philosophy. The *Nordische Gesellschaft*, originally a peaceful association for the Northern countries, has become a semi-official organisation, the object of which is to prepare a German Baltic Reich by cultural propaganda. This *Nordische Gesellschaft* published a couple of years ago *Der Ostseekreis*, a book on " Northern History " by Weber-Krohse, which is very characteristic.

A Berlin magazine, " *Volk und Reich*," which is connected with the Propaganda Ministry, devoted a whole issue (No. 9, 1936) to

the North-Eastern mission of Germany. This issue contains charts of annexed territories, including Southern Jutland, Vilna and Ingermanland ; an article by General Haushofer points out that in the 20th century small nations can only exist by the benevolence of the great powers, and an article by the Dane Louis von Kohl concludes that the future of the Nordic states lies in a union of all people of Nordic race under the supremacy of Germany. A special Nordic Society in this country is showing the film of the Nazi Party Conference in Nuremberg.

This article has two aims. First, to emphasise that National Socialism is something different from what we generally think. It is not a danger to us because there are concentration camps in Germany, but because it dreams about a Reich, i.e., has an idea which has mastered men's minds. Second, it is not good enough, it is in fact irresponsible, to live in the belief that if only we at home make ourselves " comfortable on the quiet," world history will pass Denmark by, and we shall be able to live in peace. Two great powers—Russia and Germany—have drawn us into their political and ideological calculations. It depends on us, on our willingness to participate in Europe, whether the result becomes what the great powers want it to be.

Trade as a Means to Power

The book of the *Nordische Gesellschaft* already referred to contains, apart from some tactless remarks which are on a par with those Kaiser Wilhelm used to make, an unassuming sentence in the course of an historical survey of the Hanseatic period. The Nordic man never aims, even in his commercial relations, at material matters, *he always puts the cultural mission in the forefront, i.e., in its highest expression, power.* The *Nordische Gesellschaft* has consciously been organised on the model of the Hanseatic League, and as it derives its present *raison d'être* from the high degree of identity between the German and the Nordic man, this sentence may reasonably be taken as the starting point for a sober examination of our commercial relations with Germany.

The Departmental Manager in the Industrial Council, Ivar Egebjerg, in an article in *Nationaltidende* of November 15, showed that Denmark has hitherto been able to pay for by far the greater part

of her purchases in Germany with goods sold to Germany. We have, nevertheless, agreed to place considerable amounts of free currency at the disposal of Germany for our purchases there, whereas the money Danish exporters earn there can only be brought home with difficulty, some of it only as tourists' marks. In 1934, Denmark was the only country which did not participate in the condemnation by the League of Nations of German re-armament, etc.

At the same time as these facts are becoming known, one hears more and more often that a certain amount of control is exercised over the Danish press in its references to German conditions. As long as it was only the *Arbejderbladet* (Labour organ) which said this, many were able to ignore it, but lately it has been repeated without denial in *Finanstidende* and *Kristelig Dagblad.* Even beyond Denmark's borders this curious attitude of the Foreign Office has attracted attention.

England's Policy

We have to allow for the fact that England, should she pursue her present agricultural policy, will reduce her imports from Denmark from year to year. None of the leading politicians has had the courage to state this clearly. Nor are our politicians able to speak out, as they have been elected by class interests. One hears ever-growing demands for us to increase our trade with Germany by selling greater quantities of agricultural produce to her. Apparently none of those who demand this stop to consider that we should then be forced to buy raw materials abroad mainly from non-German countries, so that we should have to pay these suppliers at the same time as our German customers placed the money owed to us on blocked accounts. Nobody stops to consider that Germany politically is far more dangerous than England. Our internal conditions have never interested England, but they do interest Germany. The German news agency, *Korrespondenz Buro Nordschleswig*, published at the beginning of December a notice about a Danish school committee which did not want German as the language of the school. A Dane is alleged to have said that in that case one might just as well instruct the children in Japanese. To which the German-directed agency remarks : "*Will Denmark sell its agricultural products to Japan when*

England closes its doors against her?" An unmistakable threat which was quoted in several influential German journals.

We shall certainly have to rely upon Germany as our chief customer if during the next twenty years we wish to maintain our standard of living. We shall trade mutually with Germany to the extent that our political liberty and our currency permits. But we must realise that we may easily sell our liberty with our butter *as long as we do not know where we stand.* We must realise that Germany is governed by Nordic people who see in trade a way to power, and construe every concession as a sign of weakness. Our politicians are tied to their class. Danish politics have gradually become opportunist. They do not take the next century into consideration, but are satisfied if they succeed in making tomorrow fairly tolerable. On the other side there are, however, politicians who deal in centuries. Both Russia and Germany speak to our generation about suffering for the sake of future liberty.

True Nationalism

It is not our aim to revive the old traditional and barren hatred of Germany nor to demand absolute autarchy. We do not want to shut ourselves off from the world in order to devote ourselves to the dangerous dream which we have dreamt so long, i.e., if we keep out of it all, the world has no claim on us and the storm may at the utmost tear one tile off Denmark's house. The world has on the contrary a claim on us ; we have a European mission. But the *sine qua non* of this mission is that we become a people able to appear with equal rights and on equal terms with other nations. *Nationalism is not born out of hatred of other people, but of love of and responsibility towards our own people.* We want to create a people whose ambassador can stand up to the German foreign office every time our frontier is attacked. We want politicians and trade experts who sell our butter *and only our butter.*

WOMEN'S CAVALRY DETACHMENT

A Red women's cavalry detachment has been formed in the northern Caucasus military district, where 200 women have been given Cossack uniforms and have been attached to a regular cavalry regiment. If this experiment proves successful it is intended to form further such women detachments.—*North China Herald, Shanghai*

GOOD HUSBANDS FROM EUROPE

Why Americans Marry Foreigners

by MARJORIE DOBBINS KERN

From the "Forum," New York

I'VE discovered several things since I married. I've discovered why foreign men wear well, and why they *keep* their wives. And they do keep them. It is the American, statistics show, who takes first honours for the title of the most divorced man in the world. . . .

Moreover, the European wives who stay married are not victims of neurasthenia or candidates for nervous breakdowns. It's the American women who are the most notoriously discontented, restless, neurotic wives in the world.

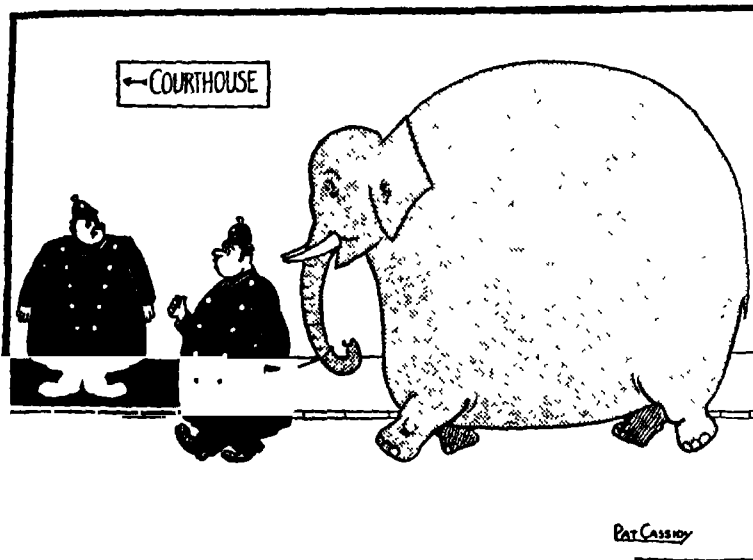
What, specifically, does the European have that our men lack? Going back to first causes, he has a different racial attitude toward women. Instead of shying away from the company of women in the traditional Anglo-Saxon manner, he accepts it with apparent enjoyment as a close and integral part of his psychology. It's only the British and Americans who wrap their masculine selves away in their own separate pleasures, leaving the ladies to the unfertile consolation of each other's company

It is symptomatic of a different relationship between the sexes that there are no marching suffragettes in the countries of the Continent, no "parades of the unenjoyed." (Few women, be it said in passing, are born unenjoyable; they grow so chiefly in man's absence.) The American husband is becoming articulately aware lately that his wife is spending an unflattering amount of time in activities outside the home, unrelated to his own interests, but what can he expect if he absorbs so little of her energy himself? The women's clubs which we have in such unprecedented numbers, the mass gatherings of women for bridge, luncheons, etc., are non-existent in Europe. Few women would choose their own society for a constant diet if mixed social intercourse were to be had for the asking instead. . . .

In Europe the lives of the marriage partners run closely together in a common channel, without the division between the interests of

the sexes that we have here. Instead of scheming to keep his wife at a distance, as the American frequently does, the foreign husband more often draws her into the varied phases of his work and play. The director of one of the largest banking institutions in France takes his wife with him to his office every morning ; her desk is in the same room as his ; and he attributes much of the success of his enterprise to her feminine " intuition."

Magnificent isolation is indeed the phrase which accurately describes the situation of many women in this country, and it does not make for contentment. The formula of the American husband for treating a wife—give her plenty of money and leave her alone—lacks subtlety. It is convenient for him to assume that she will be satisfied with money and freedom as a substitute for his company, but it is uncomplimentary and not often true—unless he happens to be insufferably dull himself. I once heard a very unperceptive woman say about a friend : " What's Mary having a nervous breakdown for ? She has a husband who gives her everything she wants, a cook who's been with her for fifteen years, and I wish you could see the monograms on her towels ! "

It speaks rather well for American women that they are dissatisfied in such conditions. It shows they still have souls and cannot live by bread alone.

"It's evidence for a customs evasion case."

"*Dublin Opinion.*"

A generally acknowledged asset of the European is his capacity to fill women's instinctive needs more adequately than the American. That the love life of our women is very unsatisfactory is a fact too well known to need proof. Yet love and romance happen to be important to the American woman. Brought up on a diet of love stories, the constant target of advertisements based on sex appeal, she is scarcely to be wondered at for feeling cheated, singled out by a malignant fate for unfair treatment, if romance does not come to her own life in full measure. It is an ironic fate that marks her out to marry so conspicuously poor a lover as the typical American.

The men of Europe, lacking the American's need to be forever affirming his masculinity, are not handicapped by our unique notion that to show an interest in ideas, outside of those that can be commercialised, implies effeminacy. It is unfortunate that our men, far from promoting and taking a leading part in their wives' mental development, turn their faces the other way and hold rather in contempt culture and non-utilitarian knowledge in general. . . .

Europeans Don't Overwork

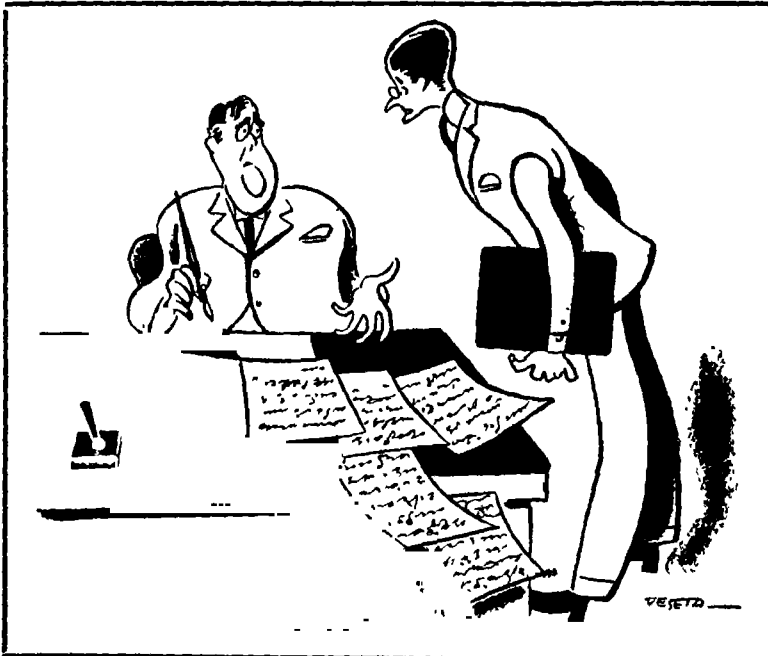
The European's refusal to bury himself in work to the exclusion of all other values is, of course, partly responsible for his more rounded personality. Because he leads a broader, more human and civilised life, he becomes a more interesting and valuable companion. He has not forgotten how to play ; he has not killed his sensitiveness to colour and beauty in life by a machine-like absorption in the making of profits. Thanks to his slower tempo of living, he has time and energy to devote to women in general and his wife in particular. He is able to give his wife, and is happy to do it, sympathetic companionship in the details of her daily existence ; in her choice of clothes, her table appointments and menus, the interior decoration of her home. Even if the American be the best provider in the world—and no one denies it—his habit of constant overwork is a direct and frequent source of marital tragedy. Many wives beg their husbands to give them less of material benefits and more of themselves.

A striking difference in the character of Americans and Europeans was illustrated in a magazine article I read. Purporting to prove that life ended at 40 for women, it was based on the assumption that no man would look at a woman of 40 if he could have one of 25, with a

sixteen-year-old girl frequently preferred. Not that he would mind an older woman around the house to do his cooking and sew on his buttons, but, for " stepping out," for a dinner-table companion, for all pursuits connected with his pleasure, he wanted youth and nothing but youth.

To a European this would be utter nonsense. On the contrary he would say that women are just beginning to grow interesting between the ages of 30 and 40, when their mature, fully developed personality allows them to play a wide gamut of experienced charms. . . .

The women of Europe need neither youth nor beauty to have highly flavoured, deeply satisfying relations with men. True, they have rather often the potent substitute of " charm," but even this, ironically, is in part a gift from their men. For there is no quicker way for a woman to acquire real charm than to be made to feel by the men who surround her that she is interesting and attractive and *important*. And European men do this service for their women, do it as a matter of course, without effort and with a sincere interest behind their good manners.

But—lest any feminine reader be planning to tempt fate in a foreign adventure—let me pass a word of warning. If European men do not demand youth, neither do they care for childishness. They

ROOSEVELT'S WORRIES

"Sir, we have got five million unemployed, a general strike and a wave of most terrible crimes . . What shall we do about it?"

—"Don't bother me now I am very busy working out the advice I am going to give Europe."

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome.

require maturity in the women they live with—mental and emotional maturity. They expect a woman to face the realities of the world she lives in with clear eyes and an open mind and to have a sense of proportion. If she counts on assuming an air of injured innocence and resorting to tears when she wants to get something, she would better eschew the idea at the beginning. . . .

But a mature psychology comes naturally to the women who live with foreign men, for it is a quality of the civilisation, where constant and interesting and important relations exist between men and women. It is not a quality of our civilisation, where the two sexes go their ways alone, growing unnaturally apart.

Unlovely qualities in both men and women result from this lack of polarisation between the sexes. Women become fussy and petty, overly sentimental, absorbed in unimportant details. They need the tonic discipline of man's dry, astringent thought; they need his unemotional realism, his impersonalities. Men shut away from women grow raw and ill-mannered and dull; the more intolerant they become of woman's influence and push her away, the more uninteresting she becomes, and the more narrow and one-sided he becomes. It is a vicious circle.

Peculiar Morality

It may be objected that the qualities I have mentioned are unimportant compared to the things that really count. (Though the importance of unimportant things may grow out of all proportion when they pile up day after day, year beyond year, through a lifetime of living together!) The American's most outstanding asset, it will be said, is his superiority in the field of morals—a virtue that should outweigh by all odds the sum total of his defects. . . .

But, when we regard the question of comparative morals with a cool, impartial eye, the gap between the performances of Americans and Europeans tends to narrow down. The difference is more one of attitude than of actual behaviour. . . .

It is not entirely a sign of virtue that we are so shocked by physical disloyalty that we tend to precipitate ourselves into the divorce court at the first indication of it—a practice considered immoral in Europe, where the permanence of the marriage institution and the claims of the family are of more weight than the passing emotional flares of the

individual. Our hasty action suggests rather that we are matrimonial illiterates, that our moral code is too naïvely simple to be realistic, that we place too much emphasis on the sexual side of marriage. . . .

It may be objected that the American at least legalises his affairs by divorcing and remarrying. Often true—though the moral value of such a procedure becomes doubtful when a man in his fifties smashes a marriage of 25 years' standing to embark legitimately on a second amorous adventure. The grief for all concerned may be more lamentable than if he had conducted an unobtrusive lapse on the side ; such a system doesn't make for stability.

But, divorce cases aside, there is a good deal of evidence to show that even our dutiful husbands are still quite a distance from realising their ideals of monogamy.

The Realistic Outlook

If, as may be suspected, American men are not quite so good as many of us have been brought up to believe, neither are European men quite so bad. . . .

Those who have lived in foreign countries—not those who merely travel there—will testify that misconceptions about the peoples of Europe are rampant among us. When we judge France, for instance, by the restaurants of Paris, we are misled. In the large, they are run for foreigners and by foreigners. . . .

Where the European differs most from us is in his realism. He recognises man's weakness, instead of closing his eyes to it, and holds the less romantic but more workable view that, if a husband has a good character and keeps his wife happy, an occasional incontinence on his part is not so important. The European wife in fact finds it easier to be large-minded about overlooking her husband's imperfection, because she lives more deeply and richly in her union with him. The American woman's relationship with her husband is often more superficial, not absorbing enough to stand the strain of shocks.

In the end we must of course give credit to the charming American men who are exceptions to the rule—the men of wide interests, responsive and alive, whose company is like a shock of cold spring water on a hot day. One wishes the world were full of them. And these men's wives are not restless and discontented, no matter how few worldly goods their mates provide. . . .

FAR EASTERN CAPITALISTS
Will Japan Turn South ?

by OWEN LATTIMORE

From " Pacific Affairs," Newark, New Jersey

Japan's internal conditions make it essential for her to expand. But in which direction? Will her drive continue to be in North China and Mongolia, or will she turn to the South, to the more fruitful lands that lie across the ocean ? Will it be the function of her great navy in future not only to support her army on the Continent but to expand in the Pacific ? Here Mr. Owen Lattimore, the authority on Mongolia and head of the Institute of Pacific Affairs, summarises the causes that govern Japanese policy

IT is clear that the opposition between Soviet and Japanese policy in the Far East is not one of what is usually called nationalistic rivalry. When the difference is analysed, it appears that there are no geographical reasons which cause China to attract an " inevitable " Japanese expansion, but that the impetus toward expansion is generated by the internal structure of Japan itself, and can be directed either toward China or elsewhere. The Soviet Union, for its part, claims that it could not become involved in an expansion rivalling that of Japan, because its internal structure does not permit external policy to be guided by groups within the nation which partly compete and partly collaborate with each other, creating a " national policy " sometimes consistent and sometimes erratic. This is important, because otherwise the resumption by Japan of a continental policy could be justified on the ground that it is necessary to cope with the menace of the Soviet Union. A comparison of the policies of the Soviet Union in the Mongol People's Republic and of Japan in Manchukuo will show, however, that there is no such menace.

Little is known and much has been alleged of the Soviet policy in Outer Mongolia ; but the available evidence indicates that it is not a policy of extracting wealth from Mongols for the benefit of Russians. There is plainly a community of interest between the Mongol People's Republic and the Soviet Union. Politically and

strategically, an attack on Outer Mongolia would expose the Siberian frontier. Economically and socially, a colonial relation between the Soviet Union and a nation of shepherds in Mongolia would be useless ; it is more to the interest of the Soviet Union to promote the creation of Mongol industries which will eventually make the Mongols equal to the Russians in technology, culture and all the characteristics of civilisation. For the Soviet Union, the maintenance on its frontiers of a nominally independent but actually subject people would be a fatal weakness.

The relation between Japan and Manchukuo is quite different. The " economic bloc " formed by Japan and Manchukuo demands the investment of Japanese capital and the processing of Manchurian raw materials as cheaply as possible, in order to sell them competitively in the international market. The ratio of profit corresponds to the ratio of difference between the standard of living in Japan and in Manchuria. This means that Manchukuo must remain necessarily and permanently subordinate to Japan.

Aggressive Japan

While, therefore, the rise to continental power of the Soviet Union, not foreseen at the time of the Washington treaties, has now changed the balance of power in Asia, it cannot be said that a " nationalistic rivalry " between the Soviet Union and Japan, over colonial regions to be exploited, is necessarily implied. The position of the Soviet Union is defensive, while that of Japan is aggressive ; and if the Asiatic expansion of Japan cannot be attributed either to " laws " of geographical proximity or to the " realistic " necessities of competing in expansion with the Soviet Union, then the motivating impulse must be looked for in Japan itself.

In this connection a Canadian writer has recently pointed out that Tsarist Russia was expansionist, in terms of both trade and political empire, while the Soviet Union, because it has changed the nature of its internal economy, is not. He then draws attention to the fact that for centuries Japan was not driven toward the mainland of Asia by any inevitable urge. The energy of expansion appeared when private capital in its Western form, invested in industry, was introduced into Japan, creating a demand for external markets, " for the principal reason that the decisions as to how the national income shall be

spent or invested are made by men who see bigger profits in foreign expansion than they do in internal reconstruction."*

Politically, the successes of industrialised Japan have been astounding, but they have been accompanied by increasingly acute internal difficulties, such as the widening of the gap between agriculture, which on the whole remains Asiatic in character, and industry, which compares in efficiency with the best in Europe and America. These difficulties Japan carried with it into Manchuria and China, where Japanese textile mills, coal mines and other enterprises are profitable partly because they draw cheap labour from a backward agriculture and a distressed peasantry.

Driven by the motor force of its own industrialisation, Japan has expanded into Asia ; but how exclusively will its political expansion be confined to China ? Manchuria was not enough ; North China is not enough ; will the whole of China be enough ? Failure to find a permanent, balanced economy of an imperial Japan and a colonial empire leaves unchecked the maladjustments within Japan which stimulate expansion. If continental expansion is not enough, it is more likely that rival claims to maritime expansion will be listened to than that expansion as a national policy will be given up. In the circumstances, it cannot be taken for granted that the growing Japanese navy will be used only in " naval defence of a land position." A serious attempt to use it as an instrument of maritime expansion, concurrent with continental expansion, moves ominously into the foreground as one of the possible developments in the Pacific region.

PEACEFUL PENETRATION
But Holland Arms all the Same

From " The People's Tribune," Shanghai

EXPLAINING Japan's aims in that area known to many Chinese as " the South Seas " and to some as " the East Indies," a series of articles has been published in the *Japan Times*, Tokyo, and copies of that paper widely circulated in Malaya and the Netherlands Indies.

* "Pacific Problems and the I.P.R.," by F. R. Scott, *Canadian Forum*, Toronto, October, 1936

These articles are written by Mr. Masanori Ito, described as a well-known Japanese publicist and authority on naval and economic affairs, who speaks of the East Indies (by which he means Malaya, Siam, Netherlands India, French Indo-China and the Philippines) as the granary of the world. Some of his more interesting observations follow :—

> " It can be said," Mr. Ito writes, " that Providence favours Japan in the East Indies with what it lacks in its own bounds. It will forever be impossible for Japan to attain a status of self-sufficiency in the narrow sense, but it has a real prospect of attaining approximately such a status by exploiting marine resources. As for important industrial materials, which it has to import, such as iron ore, petroleum, gum, tin and hemp, Japan can import them, fortunately, from the East Indies in abundance. It is needless to point out that these regions have almost inexhaustible resources to meet the demands of Japan. . . . In short, it is thus quite apparent that Japan is more favourably destined by Providence than other Powers of the world to attain its national greatness through marine development and advance into the East Indies."

Later Mr. Ito says :—

> " Nothing much can perhaps be expected by Japan from its emigration there, but the prospect is bright for enterprise and investment of capital which constitute important factors even from the standpoint of the policy of obtaining a supply of materials. The regions also afford great economic possibilities, including marine transport and aquatic industry. Japan's aspirations in this respect are truly pacific and have nothing to do with territorial designs Thus it scarcely need be pointed out that diplomacy, pacific diplomacy in particular, is positively necessary in this connection, as testified to by actual events."

Bombers in Batavia

Probably Mr. Ito will be deeply distressed to learn that, in spite of Japan's aspirations in the South being " truly pacific," the defence forces of the Netherlands Indies will be increased within the next three years to 12 destroyers, 18 submarines, and at least 200 bombers and reconnaissance planes. This programme has been submitted to the People's Council, " in view of the international situation." Dornier flying-boats now under construction for the Netherlands Indies will be able to carry 3,500 lb. of bombs. The first of 60 new T4 Fokker torpedo bombers have arrived in Batavia, and have a speed of 160 m.p.h.

Coinciding with the announcement that the Netherlands Indies defence budget is to be increased from £147,000 to £1,860,000, the

delegate for the War Department, Lieut.-General Boerstra, made the following statement to the People's Council:—"In the event of attack the Netherlands Indies will be defended by force of arms, without expecting any support from the League of Nations." The new defence programme will give the Netherlands Indies the most formidable air force of any European Power in the Far East.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITY

From "De Telegraaf," Amsterdam

Japanese penetration is not regarded as the only menace to Holland's East Indian possessions. This writer shows how Communist propaganda is spreading there and how it ought to be combated

"HOLLAND, should she be invited to do so, will not adhere to the German-Japanese treaty for combating Communism. Political treaties are no concern of the Netherlands, and they have never joined in any."

Thus spoke the Minister De Graeff in the Lower House of the States General, when defending his foreign policy. In other words, Holland can paddle her own canoe and feels quite capable of waging war on Communism alone, wherever necessary, both at home and overseas.

This attitude does not, of course, exclude the possibility of co-operation between our Government and that of other countries. In fact, co-operation actually exists. The greatest attention is paid to the development of data concerning many momentous questions, including that of communist activity.

The Communist Party in the Dutch Indies, the infamous P.K.I., was automatically dissolved on the suppression of the excesses of 1927. It is, in fact, finished as a "legal" organisation, but as an "illegal proletariat party," a section of the Communist International, it still exists. With the object of reconstructing the Dutch East Indies Communist Party, a "Foreign Office of the P.K.I." was established in Holland in 1934.

This office has taken in hand the distribution—by underhand means—of Communist propaganda in the Dutch East Indies, both in

trade unions and amongst the unemployed. Moreover, the office is seeking to get in touch with all members of the " Indonesian proletariat " resident outside Dutch East Indies, with the object of waging war, in co-operation with the organisations of the International Proletariat, for the " independence of Indonesia." When both capitalism and imperialism have been completely annihilated, an " Indian Soviet State " will be established.

It should be remembered that it is during the last four years that reports have been reaching us about the seizure of Communist propaganda in the Malay tongue, brought by Dutch ships in misleading wrappers. Pamphlets, sent to a number of addresses in the Dutch Indies sometimes as advertisements, sometimes as an innocent-looking packet, announcing to all appearances the merits of " Sloan's Liniment," are occasionally posted in Amsterdam, but chiefly in Belgium.

In Dutch East India the so-called Pari (Indonesian Republican Party) has given evidence of increased activity. After the suppression of the P.K.I. it was established during 1927 by prominent Communists in unknown places in one of the neighbouring Pacific countries, the Straits, Siam or Indo-China. Following Soviet precept, they have started the formation of cells in the important branches of the service. Similar Communist cells are to be found in every international society, also in the four or five small Dutch East Indian nationalist associations here in Holland.

But note : Moscow's attention is concentrated on Holland and on the so desirable Dutch East Indian archipelago with its suggestible, defenceless population of many millions. The Communist International, the crypto-organism of the Soviet system of government, still continues to undermine the foundations of public order and quiet in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Dutch East India is on the *qui vive.* Many measures have been taken and in the course of the years a large number have been added. Nevertheless they appear to be insufficient to prevent the recent huge influx of international provocative propaganda of Soviet principles into the Indian archipelago.

No legal means must be neglected to prevent Communist propaganda from becoming a chronic danger to Dutch and Dutch East Indian society.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs. Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible

WILL THE SWORD RULE INDIA?

SIR,—Mr. Thompson's soul is moved by the coupon-cadging Poona *badmash*, whom he regards as the future ruler of India (see WORLD REVIEW, February) I fear his pathetic plea will rouse no response, but derision, among those who know For if India is indeed destined to be ruined by such ignoble creatures, who are responsible, but Mr Edward Thompson and his friends? Who undermined and flouted the authority of those who strove to provide a better future for India than to be ruled by subtle, half-westernised, dishonest and unreliable townsfolk? Who supported every movement towards throwing the whole government of India into such hands? Indeed, who provided the cheap veneer of western civilisation that the Indian townsman adopted with such alacrity? In every case the answer is the same, those who, with Mr Thompson, now bewail the results And those results were predictable, they were, let it be added, predicted And Mr Thompson and his party laughed and mocked at the prophets as hide-bound reactionaries, sun-dried officials, stupid Imperialists unable to enter into India's new soul

Fortunately he has ignored a very different Indian youth from his coupon-cadging product of western civilisation Up in the clean Panjab and in the Rajputana deserts another type is growing to manhood, the type described by Sir George MacMunn This youth of the martial classes is perhaps less responsive to Mr Thompson's idealistic chatter He does not, perhaps, recite English prose with the glib facility of the Poona politician He may lack the knowledge of the inner subtleties of corruption and place-hunting that are the secrets of democratic rule in India as elsewhere He is uncouth, direct, honourable, clean living and a gentleman And if India is to be ruled by Indians he will do the ruling True, he will be easily outvoted by the weedy Poona cads and their following of unmartial peasantry, at least that calculation is at the bottom of most Indian politicians' schemes But this other youth possesses something besides a vote He possesses a sword, and the will to use it

It may be very dreadful to Mr Thompson that India should be ruled by the sword But it is better than that India should be ruled by the westernised products of "advanced" thought And, better or worse, the rule of the fighting man is at least practicable The rule of the talking man against the fighting man's will is not And if Mr. Thompson objects to this, we ask quite simply, why did he and his friends displace the rule of the British officials, who at least *did* control fighting man and talking man alike, and secure both peace and justice over a sub-continent? Having got rid of them, the only power in India that can rule is the power of the martial races of the north-west, who will not submit to the rule of the classes whom they despise, and have the physical power to destroy. My only hope is that the British power will not be fool enough to attempt

to check the inevitable transfer of rule from chatter to strength of hand. For if they do, their own instruments, the fighting men of the Indian Army, will revolt, and we shall have a mutiny worse than that of 1857, when the revolting sepoys were not of the fine martial quality of the modern Indian Army, nor as well armed or trained.

Wargrave WRAY HUNT

NATIVES FAVOURED

SIR,—Re "A Square Deal for the Natives," Page 78, January issue. I shall be glad if you will let your readers know that there is British money in goodly quantity being spent out of the Colonial Development Fund in opening up water for the natives in the Bechuanaland Protectorate; but it seems, from what a friend of mine tells me, there is no help for white settlers, although in the Union of South Africa every help is given to farmers to open up waters, and I believe the same applies to Southern Rhodesia. But a farmer settler in the Bechuanaland Protectorate must sign away his ground rights before a drill will be hired to him Where does the square deal for the settler come in? Water here is the need of all and should be made available on equal terms to all inhabitants of the territory

"OLD SETTLER"

Bechuanaland Protectorate.

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

SIR,—How well do the two articles on Africa, from the *Europaische Revue* printed in your March issue, illustrate the blindness and illogicality of the Imperialist mind!

Mr. Holloway, writing in defence of the "colour bar" legislation of South Africa, supplies the Communist with all the arguments necessary for the successful prosecution of that "common attack on the white minority" to which the Hon. Oswald Pirow looks forward with dread.

First, by the very use of the word "native," he admits that Africa belongs to the African; secondly, he states clearly that the Bantu is capable of reaching the European cultural level; thirdly, he reminds us that the native African economic system is Communistic; and lastly, he quotes the census to show that the proportion of whites to blacks is 1 to 3.

Of course with the Communist argument so ably stated by the Imperialists, it only remains for Stalin, by his anti-Trotskyist "purgings" to save the Empire for the Imperialists!

Shrewsbury. JOHN M. GILBERT

FROM A PRIVATE

SIR,—As a word of appreciation for your most interesting magazine I must admit that its perfectly frank articles are invaluable to the soldier of today. With so much trouble, both in England and other countries, we soldiers often wonder when the storm will break and why? The national press with its contradictory opinions only leads to endless arguments among troops. It is sad to listen to the comments upon the Spanish affair Poor Tommy Atkins is at a loss when he picks up the "D. M." which prefers to call one side "Reds," while the "D H." calls the same party "Patriots" I am dubious about it myself

I believe your magazine sees a way out. *Why not advertise it more?* I can assure you I will do my bit.

Aldershot "TOMMY ATKINS."

Thanks for the appreciation and help. We can't afford to advertise, and look to readers like you to get us known.

A DANE'S WARNING

SIR,—The wide Imperial interests of England, revealed through the columns of your REVIEW, have been a great revelation to me personally, and I feel that English policy for lack of proper understanding of the Imperial aspects is apt to be misunderstood in my country On the other hand, it is perhaps not clearly realised in this country that Lord Beaverbrook's policy of splendid isolation, if carried to its logical conclusion, would almost inevitably drive my country into the arms of Germany and thus, perhaps, ultimately give Germany that extension of her seaboard she may desire

W Juul

London

YOURS TRULY SINCERELY

Among our letters is one from an important news agency in south-eastern Europe. Emulating that "notorious correctness and tactfulness" which characterises the gentleman referred to, we have omitted all names

DEAR SIRS.—We beg to inform you herewith, that the ancient sub-secretary of State at the —— home-department and chief of censure, Mr —— has been discharged

At his place will be appointed deputy Mr —— an element of great value, a man of character, and notorious correctness and tactfulness The nomination of Mr —— is awaited with great satisfaction

Please let us have three justifying exemplaries of the papers in which this information will appear

Yours truly sincerely,

WORLD REVIEW COMPETITION

Result of Competition No. 2

In this competition we asked for suggestions to be made by the Chinese delegate at a World Face-Saving Conference, for the settlement of the German Colonies dispute or the Spanish civil war

Mr L. Worthington-Smith, from his good vantage-post in Southern Rhodesia, produced an excellent suggestion for joint administration of the colonies by Great Britain and Germany ; but we felt it lacked oriental subtlety. For a masterly exhibition of this quality, the first prize goes to the occupant of a Scottish manse. Here is his entry, and that of the second prize winner, whose simplicity is admirably un-statesmanlike·

First Prize

Germany, having apologised for creating the impression that she had been defeated in 1918 by accepting the armistice terms, and the mandatory powers having apologised for their subsequent trespass on German territory ; the high contracting powers agree :

1 That all former German colonies be in future known by their former names (German East Africa, etc)

2. That they be in future marked on the map in distinctive colour to indicate German sovereignty.

3. That in view of the difficulties involved in transference Germany grant a lease of 999 years to the powers at present holding a mandate for them, rent to be paid in raw materials

4. That reports be made to the German Reichstag instead of to the Mandates Commission of the League.

5. That South West Africa, being largely wilderness, be declared a national home for German Jews for the space of 40 years.

(*Rev*) *John R. Martin.*

Second Prize

At the recent World Face-Saving Conference the Chinese delegate explained that the problem of the German colonies was extremely simple. All that was necessary was the return of her former colonies to Germany, who would then hand them over to the League of Nations for international control. The League of Nations would be dissolved. And, as the colonies would thus be left ownerless, Great Britain would step in and take care of them as nominal trustee—doubtless from the most selfless motives.

Simple, is it not? Germany's demands would thus be satisfied, British imperialists would be appeased, and the League would have been consulted.

Barbara Beard.

COMPETITION NO. 4

Sometime in the 1950's the League of Nations advertises for a commissionaire for its building in Ariana Park At that time there is a slump in the Prime Ministers and Dictators of the 1930's, and among the applicants for the post are Signor Benito Mussolini, Herr Adolf Hitler, Mr. Joseph Stalin and Mr. Baldwin. Each asks one of his famous contemporaries for a testimonial. We offer a first prize of one guinea and a second prize of any book advertised or reviewed in a recent issue of World Review, the price of which does not exceed half-a-guinea, for the best version of one of the following testimonials (not to be more than 150 words long) :

1. The Negus for Mussolini.
2. Mr. Winston Churchill for Hitler.
3. Dr. Goebbels for Stalin.
4. Britain's Dictator of the 1950's for Mr. Baldwin.

Entries to be received by May 5

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

FRANCE'S DEFENCES

THE FRENCH WAR MACHINE

By Shelby Cullom Davis *Allen & Unwin* 8s. 6d

Reviewed by LT.-COL H DE WATTEVILLE

MR DAVIS presents in this book a well-informed account of the changes in the organisation of the French army from the social and political standpoint In so small a compass—just over 200 pages—he could not approach so vast a subject as the technical composition and value of the component parts of that army Within these limits the author's story is plain and clearly told Ever since the Armistice France has been faced by the problem of maintaining her national and political integrity against the threat of an attack from Germany The fundamental basis of that problem is the disparity existing between the populations and resources of the two countries—41,000,000 inhabitants in France as against 65,000,000 in Germany So long as France imagined that Germany was effectually disarmed, the possible danger seemed more remote During these earlier years there was a palpable relaxation of military effort and no piling up of armaments M André Maginot, Minister of War in 1924, then authorised the construction of a vast system of fortifications on the French eastern frontier, designed to make France "safe against invasion." At that time the French imagined they had found security, in spite of the rapidly increasing efficiency of the new German 100,000-man *Reichswehr*, this army indeed by 1932 had grown into the most formidable fighting organisation of its size in Europe. The various reactions to this growing German menace on French military policy are well told by Mr Davis, although he does not lay sufficient emphasis on what has been done in France in the way of the "Organisation of the Nation in Time of War." He should, moreover, have studied the series of remarkable semi-official articles published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* above the signatures, amongst others, of Pétain, Debeney, Tulasne and Armengaud The latter author would have enlightened Mr Davis as to French opinion concerning the views of "decisive" aerial warfare formulated by the late General Doubet in Italy. These views have not been accepted in France *in toto*, far from it

In 1932 came the crisis The *années creuses*, the lean years for recruiting caused by the low birth-rate in France during the war years, set in The French peace-time army was threatened with a shortage of men to hold the great Maginot line Pétain himself pleaded for the re-introduction of two-year service, not only with a view to strengthening the standing army, but also for the purpose of improving the professional capacity of the non-commissioned officers Thereupon came

the advent of Hitler ; followed by the resurrection of the German army of 500,000 men , the re-militarisation of the Rhineland That was not all Germany, in turn, found that one-year service was hardly adequate to instil into the troops the necessary technical knowledge demanded by modern equipment So by the irony of fate, as Mr. Davis shows in his introduction—perhaps the best part of his book—it has been left to a Popular Front Government in France to turn to defence problems and, now, to float a gigantic Defence Loan French strategy, meanwhile, is adopting a far more strictly defensive bias , but this aspect of the matter is one not touched upon by Mr Davis

BEFORE THE WAR

I SAW SPAIN By Bernard Newman
Illus Jenkins, 10s 6d

Reviewed by JOHN MARKS

THIS is one of those familiar travel books that look so fat and are so thin , with its "photographs by the author" and its rough little sketch-maps (by the author) and its porous paper for soaking up impressions of the country goes a text that is eminently readable , slightly more trouble to write than a diary, such books are a good deal easier to read This particular specimen of the type, cheerfully modest and unfailingly superficial, can at the moment give genuine pleasure —the pleasure of respite Mr Newman saw Spain on the verge of a tragic upheaval ; everywhere he observed signs and portents of gathering storm , he left Spanish Morocco, via Gibraltar and in troubled ignorance, as the tension shattered and war broke out. He returned to England and in the eighth month of the Spanish conflict has published the account of his journeyings through Spain and Morocco in the sad, hot summer of 1936 on a bicycle facetiously referred to as George.

Such a book could not, by any stretch of the author's or the reader's imagination, lack a peculiar and perturbing interest Moreover, as it is three-quarters travel-book pure and simple and only a quarter appended prophecy and political "explanation," it has its own reminiscent charm, like a flashback on the newsreels

Recorded at any other time, George and Bernard Newman's vision of Spain could not be considered remarkable ; they entered the country via Roncesvalles and wisely stuck, for the most part, to the less beaten tracks, where memories of the Peninsular campaign and a kindly sociological interest in people (for example, the backward peasants of Las Hurdes) would be likely to offset the travellers' inappreciation of Spanish scenery and insufficient response to her architectural glories, so often described and eulogised before Truly British in his contradictory dislike of touts and stubborn fondness for shorts (symptom and symbol of the tourist evil), Mr Newman "saw" also the places of the South, in Málaga a Communist or someone killed, and in Morocco a glimpse of General Franco Those of us who in London, watched the funeral of King George also unwittingly saw General Franco , but when Mr Newman saw him conferring with an officer of the *Tercio* near Tetuan, he was believed to be busy governing the Canaries Weeks before, an old *gitana* who was hastening out of Spain, as Mr Newman entered the country, had told him "There is blood on the land , I can smell it coming" Between that first wisp of prophetic smoke and the outbreak of the conflagration, from Spain's European frontier to her African horizon, Mr Newman plodded on his bicycle. He saw little,

but that little is more clear in the light of after events than his final garbled attempt to elucidate Spain's recent history from a point of view that, "like herself, is neither Fascist nor Communist." His impressions of Juan Español are far less inaccurate than his statements about Azaña

HOME TRUTHS

FEAR CAME ON EUROPE By John T. Whitaker *Hamish Hamilton* 10*s*. 6*d*.

Reviewed by W. Horsfall Carter

"The disillusionment of a democrat" might serve as sub-title for this record of journalistic experience during the past five pre-War years. Mr. Whitaker, after serving his apprenticeship in reporting the small-town politics of his native country (U.S.A.), arrives, pink and innocent, in Europe to study high policy. Geneva, as the matrix of the world community, is the appropriate observation-post It was the eve of the Manchurian war. The process of disillusionment begins The League of 1931 is for him in retrospect "a fool's paradise of liberalism" The author is perfectly right But it is typical of his callow judgments that he should see Lord Cecil, who combines with his idealism a hard core of practicality and any amount of political guile, as "the kind of liberal who believed that you can appeal to the better nature of dynamite."

Then comes the tragic farce of the Disarmament Conference whose failure, as he says, was due to the same cause as that of the League in the Sino-Japanese dispute—"because the U.S.A. and Great Britain had not taken their proper places in the community of nations."

Mr. Whitaker appreciates, however, that peace-mindedness is not enough. There must be an intellectual grasp of the requirements of a new international order. And that is precisely what was lacking in the men who have had their hands on the levers of power since 1918.

It was Mr. Whitaker's fate "to exchange the idealism of Geneva for the cynicism of Rome." And the medicine seems to have been an excellent purgative. Of the Italian campaign in Abyssinia, which he witnessed as a correspondent for his paper, he writes brightly and sympathetically, and he can claim the distinction of having predicted Signor Mussolini's victory—over the Negus and over the League

The book is essentially a *cri de cœur* and, no doubt, has done its author a power of good by way of catharsis. But it is rather a scrappy and shapeless affair

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

SWITZERLAND

It is strange to think that it is only in the last 200 years that the beauty of Switzerland has been generally appreciated. Now, of course, to say that Switzerland is beautiful is about as platitudinous as saying that the earth is round or grass green.

Switzerland has always been popular with English tourists, ever since "tourism" began. I have never met anybody who said he did *not* want to go to Switzerland. Those who have been have always wanted to go again. And to those who have not yet been Switzerland will prove to be an experience. Its beauty is something bewildering, overwhelming. One's first view of the Alps, or of one of the lakes, is unforgettable. And in no country is there such an intensive concentration of natural beauty.

Compared with many European countries, Switzerland, even more so than England, is comparatively backward. It has no concentration camps to offer the curious visitor, and you are allowed to say what you like. Nor will anybody bother about how much money you bring in or take out.

Last year the Swiss devalued their franc by 40 per cent. This devaluation has not been accompanied by a rise in Swiss internal prices, so that a holiday to Switzerland this summer will cost about a third less than last year. It should also not be forgotten that the railway fare through France is correspondingly lower on account of French devaluation. The return fare by rail to Switzerland is in certain cases as little as £5. Air travel costs just over £14 return and brings Geneva or Zurich within a few hours of London.

Inside Switzerland itself there is a 30 per cent reduction on return rail fares for a stay of six days or over, and, in addition to this, regional tickets are issued for which you pay a lump sum down and are allowed to travel where and as often as you like in a given period. For instance, an 8-day ticket (2nd class) costs £3.

Another concession to tourists—this time to motorists—is a reduction in the price of petrol which enables it to be bought for 1s 3½d a gallon. When you enter the country you are given a Petrol Form which has to be endorsed at filling stations each time petrol is bought. On leaving the country you hand the form to the customs authorities, who refund to you 30 per cent of the amount you have spent on petrol, up to a maximum of 300 litres (66 gallons).

Finally, there is the question of where to go. In a short article it is impossible to set out all the delightful spots in Switzerland. You can have a restful holiday by one of the lakes, within easy access of mountains. A charming centre is Montreux, at the eastern end of Lake Geneva, with its wonderful panora-

mic view of the Dents du Midi. Others will prefer to go to the famous Engadine resorts—St. Moritz, Pontresina, etc. Or there is Interlaken, between Lakes Thun and Brienz, within easy access of the celebrated Jungfrau These are only a few suggestions—many more could be made, but wherever you go you are sure not to regret it. Incidentally there are many golf-courses in different parts of Switzerland

Information and assistance on travel in Switzerland can be obtained from the London office of the Swiss Federal Railways, 116, Regent Street, S W.1

A FILM TO NOTE

READERS of this REVIEW will be particularly interested in a film "Behind the Headlines," which an enterprising young screen journalist, Mr Hans Nieter, has made of European danger-spots

Opening with shots of Vienna, eating, drinking and making merry, the film passes on to Gdynia and Danzig There we see the contrast between the ancient and relatively idle port of Danzig and the bustling modern Polish one alongside Pictures of life in a Labour Camp are particularly vivid

The most interesting part of the film is that taken, under great difficulties, on the Polish-Lithuanian frontier. The conditions at this impassable frontier can only be properly realised by seeing Mr. Nieter's film. A pathetic picture is that of a family separated by the 50-ft. No Man's Land.

Sir Philip Gibbs speaks a pleasant running commentary to the film, which he has supervised The whole, both film and commentary, is entirely free from propaganda bias of any kind. It forms an admirable complement to this REVIEW, and we strongly recommend our readers to ask their local cinemas to secure it.

A Request to Readers

In order to extend the influence of WORLD REVIEW, we would be grateful if you would send us the name and address of at least one friend to whom we might send a descriptive brochure.

40-42 Chandos St., London, W.C.2

M. BLUM'S BOLD MOVE

by "RAPIER"

By the French Cabinet's pronouncements of March 5 freeing the gold market and launching a Defence Loan, France became once again the centre of financial interest Everyone must wish success to M Blum's bold bid for restoration of confidence in the franc, upon which largely depends France's hopes of an economic revival Prior to this announcement, the stability of the franc was again becoming precarious Unlike the course of events in Holland and Switzerland following devaluation last Autumn, the French capitalist had not brought back the funds he had placed abroad during the period of flight from Continental currencies Indeed, there had been a recrudescence of this flight and France was continuing to lose large quantities of gold The British credit of £40,000,000 was nearly exhausted and the French Treasury nearly bare It seemed that the Treasury would be obliged shortly to resume borrowing from the Bank of France for its immediate needs, a remedy which could not long stave off a crisis The alternatives before M Blum were to do everything to make it attractive to the capitalist to bring his money out of the hidden hoards, or to impose further controls to prevent a further flight and adopt what the Germans call a system of autarchy. That M Blum has chosen the former course is a great step forward both for France and the world at large

Despite some preliminary hitches in launching the loan, and the inability of America or Britain to co-operate as was at first hoped, the first half of the loan (amounting to 5,000 million francs) was a great success—so much so that another 3,000 million francs were issued.

Already as I write there has been a return flow of capital to Paris reflected in sales of some British securities in London, which have been one of the refuges into which fugitive French balances have flown in the last few years The French Equalisation Fund has, too, actually been selling francs to prevent too rapid an appreciation of their value in terms of sterling, instead of having to buy them in large quantities If this movement continues the outlook for France and the franc is more hopeful than it has been for many a long day It is probable, too, that a revival in French industry would necessitate the repatriation of further French capital to finance its expansion and that the rise in share values, which should accrue, would be a further stimulant to repatriation

The effect of such movements must be temporarily depressing on certain securities on the London Stock Exchange, and will also lead to a reduction of the deposits of British banks which have been swollen by flight of capital from the Continent But security depreciation only affects a small part of the market,

and the removal of foreign balances should not affect the basis of credit, as our monetary authorities have not allowed the influx to have anything like its full effect upon the credit structure. These movements of fugitive balances are an interesting comment upon what President Roosevelt calls the "Hot Money" problem The rapidity with which such movements can be reversed shows the danger of legislating against a short term movement, and it is hoped the lesson will not be lost upon the United States Treasury and that they will abandon their suggestion of imposing restrictions upon foreign investors in American securities.

This question of legislating for the future also brings to mind the dangers of schemes for restricting output of commodities such as the tin and rubber restriction schemes. Recent weeks have seen phenomenal rises in the price of non-ferrous metals and a considerable appreciation in the price of rubber Upon a growing demand for peaceful industrial purposes has been superimposed a world-wide rearmament demand Markets have been caught short of nearby supplies and with consumers and speculators competing for existing supplies, prices have soared Moreover, the foresight of those who control even the best run international regulation schemes has proved at fault, and it is doubtful today if restrictions were removed whether a sufficient labour force could be recruited in time to increase supplies to meet immediate needs It can, of course, be argued that if restriction schemes had not been imposed during the slump many producers would have gone out of production, and that it would have taken an equally long time to increase production as under present circumstances But even if the free play of the market had not operated sufficiently quickly to remedy the balance between production and consumption, there would have been no scapegoat to blame. As it is, however, the natural irritation of large consumers like America can be turned upon the Governments concerned in restricting the output of commodities they need and raising prices against them Is this the way to an Anglo-American trade agreement?

TRUST OF BANK SHARES

THE Progress Report No. 2 of the Trust of Bank Shares, covering the second distribution period of the Trust, ended February 18, 1937, states that the distribution to unit holders, payable on March 15, amounts to 3 3480d. per unit free of Income Tax, which, together with the first distribution of 4 9638d., amounts to 8 3118d. per unit net for a period of 13½ months

On the price at which Bank Units were first introduced (19s) this represents a gross yield of £4 5s 0d. per annum (Income Tax at 4s 9d in the £) or £3 19s. 9d per cent. on the current offered price of 20s 3d xd.

The Managers estimate that the gross yield for the current year will exceed 4 per cent.

The Trust is a managed unit trust which offers investors the opportunity of investing, free from personal liability for uncalled capital, in the shares of 40 leading British banks and discount companies. As the Report states, 1936 was a good banking year, showing a big increase in net profits

NOW WE KNOW WHY

URANUS is in a place that is believed to encourage the acceptance of wrong ideas and dangerous sophistries. Communist activities now will be widely effective.—*San Francisco Chronicle.*

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

SPAIN

February 21 Ban on volunteers came into force in all countries represented on the Non-Intervention Committee

" 22 New Government offensive against Oviedo, capital of Asturias.

March 8 Supervision plan finally adopted by Non-Intervention Committee. Coast of Spain to be watched by French, British, Italian and German warships Observers on Portuguese-Spanish and Franco-Spanish frontier

Large Italian contingent reported to have landed in Cadiz Denied in Rome

" 9 New rebel advance on Madrid

" 13 Italian forces reported defeated

GENEVA

February 18 Professor Karl Burckhardt accepted post of League High Commissioner in Free City of Danzig in succession to Mr Sean Lester

March 8 Committee on raw materials held first meeting in Geneva Japan and America represented, but Italy and Germany refused to attend

GERMANY

March 1 In a speech at the Leipzig Fair, Herr von Ribbentrop, Ambassador to Great Britain, outlined Germany's claim to colonies

" 12 Reply to British Note about Western Pact

FRANCE

March 5 French Cabinet, in view of lack of confidence in financial circles, announced new financial programme, including a £100,000,000 National Defence Loan (*see* "Rapier," p 80)

FINLAND

March 1 Newly-elected President, M Kallio (regarded as less pro-German than his predecessor), took oath of office and proclaimed Finland's fidelity to League of Nations

POLAND

February 21 Colonel Adam Koc, announced official programme for new National party to "consolidate all the constructive forces of the Polish nation" in defence of the country, its religion and institutions and against Communism

SOVIET RUSSIA

March 3 Decree issued for militarisation of Soviet youth from age of eight

March 13. M Maisky, Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain, in public speech in London, warns would-be aggressors.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

February 19 Agreement reached between government and the three Sudeten German coalition parties (representing something less than half the Czech Germans) for an improvement in the relations between the Czechoslovak people and the German ministry

" 28 Herr Henlein, leader of the non-co-operating Sudeten German Party (majority group) rejected the government's concessions as mere promises, and demanded racial autonomy

RUMANIA

February 16 Prime Minister Tatarescu rebuked German and Italian Ministers and Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires for intervening in Rumanian internal affairs by attending funeral of two members of Fascist Iron Guard killed in Spain

SWITZERLAND

February 26 Publication of Herr Hitler's pledge that Germany would respect territorial integrity of Switzerland.

HOLLAND

March 3 Conference of Oslo Powers met at The Hague to discuss commercial relations

ITALY

March 2 Fascist Grand Council decided to increase armed forces of Italy and to develop preparedness for war in view of the conviction that "any possibility, however remote, of a limitation of arms is henceforth definitely to be excluded"

" 10 Signor Mussolini left for tour of Mediterranean and Libya Object of visit to affirm Italy's increased prestige and demonstrate her military and naval strength

AUSTRIA

February 22 Arrival of Baron von Neurath, German Foreign Minister, in Vienna National-socialist demonstrations Object of visit (officially denied) believed to be to impress on Austrian government that Germany could not allow a Habsburg restoration

DIARY *(contd.)*

ABYSSINIA

February 19. Marshal Graziani, Viceroy, wounded with others by bombs in Addis Ababa. Reprisals followed

„ 25 Ras Desta, son-in-law of the Emperor and the last of the great Abyssinian military leaders, captured and shot.

EGYPT

February 20 British invitation to Egypt to apply for membership of the League of Nations.

INDIA

Provincial elections resulted in Congress Party majorities in six of the eleven Provinces. Question of accepting office deferred until meeting of All-India Congress Committee

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

February 23. Mr Bullitt, U S Ambassador in Paris, expressed America's readiness to collaborate in reduction of tariff barriers and in promoting disarmament

March 3 U.S. Senate approved Neutrality Bill

RELIANCE PERMANENT BUILDING SOCIETY

THE Reliance Permanent Building Society, which has been established for 75 years, showed greatly increased business in its last annual report, for the year ended October, 1936. The Society has mortgage assets of £452,060 secured on 762 properties.

The statement of accounts showed £354,640 in paid-up £10 shares, upon which interest is paid at the rate of 3½ per cent., tax free. As the Society pays the tax, the yield is equal to £4 11s. 10d. per cent In addition there is an amount of £6,622 standing to the credit of members who are subscribing for £10 shares by regular monthly payments. These bear interest at the rate of 3 per cent., tax free.

The latest balance sheet of the Society shows substantially increased reserves

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The rate for prepaid Classified announcements is 1s. 3d. per line, or 12s. 6d. per inch if displayed. Discounts for series are 2½% for six insertions or 5% for twelve. Instructions and copy with remittance should reach WORLD REVIEW office, 40-42 Chandos Street, London, W.C.2, not later than the 14th of the month for the following month's issue.

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SCHOOLS—(*contd.*)

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THE LONDON ASSOCIATION of CERTIFIED ACCOUNTANTS

The half-yearly PRELIMINARY, INTERMEDIATE and FINAL EXAMINATIONS will be held on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd June next, in London, Belfast, Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Cork, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hull, Leeds Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nottingham, Plymouth and Sheffield.

Entries should be received on, or before, the 1st April Further particulars may be obtained from the offices of the Association at 50, Bedford Square, London, W.C 1.

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WORLD REVIEW

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VERNON BARTLETT

VERA BRITTAIN:

"No Compromise with War!"

CAESAR AND MR. BALDWIN

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WORLD REVIEW

Incorporating 'REVIEW OF REVIEWS' and 'WORLD'

Volume III. No. 3. *May, 1937*

40 CHANDOS STREET
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WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please. Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

THE WAY OF THE WORLD

by VERNON BARTLETT

SINCE the last issue of this REVIEW appeared, a remarkable change has taken place in the situation in Spain. For the first time since the Civil War began last July the Spanish Government has definitely taken the initiative on land, on sea and in the air, except in the Bilbao sector where the British Government's refusal to protect its mercantile marine has been of such singular assistance to General Franco.

I pointed out a month ago, after my return from a second visit to Madrid, that the most important development there was the way in which a popular army was being built up. An army which is a part of the people, and not apart from them. The diplomats and even the military experts are under-estimating the value of such an army just as they under-estimated the strength of the Bolshevist army which so unexpectedly turned General Yudenitch back from the gates of Petrograd. But once the Spanish people, or that large section of it which is on the Government side, believes that it has won the initiative by its own efforts, it will go forward with a keenness which may have astonishing results.

General Miaja, the commander in Madrid, has wisely talked about the Guadalajara victory in a very minor key. Only by the distribution of indifferent cigars to the reluctant foreign journalists did he show how pleased he was with the result. There may still be considerable set-backs, but many observers who are not particularly biased one way or another about affairs in Spain are now convinced that the tide has turned definitely in the Government's favour.

The End of Foreign Help?

The Germans appear very wisely to have withdrawn from the Spanish adventure. They will not risk enough men to win the war for Franco, for they realise that they would be needed in Spain long after the fighting was over. Their armaments have proved, in several respects, so unsatisfactory that they must start all over again. They have no further time or inclination to fight a war for Italy's benefit. As for Italy, it has been made very clear to Signor Mussolini that France, and to a lesser extent Great Britain, can no longer tolerate grave breaches of the Non-Intervention Agreement, however hesitating they have been in the past. The risk of breaking it openly has now become so great that Signor Mussolini, courageous man though he be, is not likely to take it.

The foreign "volunteers" on the spot will probably not be withdrawn. Indeed, one problem which must be exercising the mind of the Duce is what he will do ultimately with the Italian survivors of his expeditionary force in Spain. Nobody can gauge the importance of anti-Fascist propaganda on these young men, many of whom enlisted in the belief that they were to go to Abyssinia, and all of whom are hearing for the first time criticism of a regime which has not been criticised in their presence since its installation in 1922.

The Spanish Government has special guns on the front that fire, not shells, but propaganda—which may be even more dangerous. It would hurt less to be hit on the head by a heavy wad of speeches than by a piece of hard steel, but those who escape the missiles pick them up and read them, and are far more disposed to take them seriously than are we, who find propagandist pamphlets in our letter-boxes.

There have been so many sufferers in this brutal civil war that it may seem invidious to select any particular category for sympathy.

But one should spare a little of it for these young Italians fighting in strange conditions in a quarrel which is not their own, and in a country which so many of them had never intended to visit. One doubts whether the Duce will allow them for years to return to their native land, for they may have been "contaminated" by their captured comrades who have taken part, willingly or unwillingly, in the propaganda campaign by blaring appeals to surrender through the loud speakers put up in the trenches. The best that these young men can hope for is that when this war is over they will at last reach their destination in Abyssinia, and be allowed to return from it in a few years, when the Spanish war is forgotten or forgiven.

The Italian defeat on the Guadalajara front was not of great military importance. But, politically, it may be decisive, for it has undoubtedly increased the resentment felt by the Spaniards on General Franco's side against the foreigners on whom they have to depend in their civil war. The relations between the foreigners and the Spaniards, and between the Italians and the Germans, cannot have been improved by the Guadalajara battle. On the other hand, the encouragement given to the citizen army in Madrid by this one victory is out of all proportion to the amount of ground gained or prisoners captured.

Berlin Changes and Chances

The other day there burst into the Foreign Office a substantial, red-faced, jovial man who could hardly have astonished his colleagues more had he been a wan ghost. It was Mr. Ogilvie Forbes, on his way from his old post as Chargé d'Affaires to the Spanish Government in Madrid and then in Valencia to his new post as Counsellor to the British Embassy in Berlin, and he caused amazement because there never was a more impressive contradiction of the statements that everybody in Government Spain is miserable, half-starved and pessimistic. To the distress of his guests but to the benefit of his soul, he has done it all on exactly the same rations as he was able to offer to every refugee in his Embassy.

His successor, John Leche, has the advantage of speaking Spanish perfectly, but it would take him or anybody else a long time to win such general respect and admiration as Ogilvie Forbes has won by his

courageous attempt to understand a system of government based upon so much of which he must strongly disapprove.

The appointment of such a man as Counsellor to the Embassy in Berlin may have real importance, since it goes with the change in the person of the ambassador. Nobody could fail to be impressed by the cleverness and earnestness of Sir Eric Phipps, or to believe that he will be far more successful as ambassador in Paris than he was in Berlin. What has been wanted in Germany since the advent to power of Herr Hitler has been, not a very correct diplomat of the old school who could be trusted to report back accurately and honestly to his government, but rather a man who would occasionally interfere in German affairs. A man who, like Lord D'Abernon, could offer advice and know that the offer would not be resented or misunderstood.

Sir Neville Henderson, the new ambassador, built up for himself in Belgrade a position such as no British ambassador or minister has had since Sir Ronald Graham left the Embassy in Rome. That position was due to his personal friendship with the late King Alexander. But presumably he does not limit his gift for friendship to kings. The new Henderson-Forbes combination may very well prove of tremendous importance at a time when Germany is hesitating between co-operation and isolation.

Sense in Central Europe

Faced by the defeat of his Italians in the mountains near Madrid Signor Mussolini had to obtain some diplomatic victory somewhere. With none of the careful preparations which generally herald such a visit, Count Ciano was rushed off to Belgrade where he signed agreements which play hell with the Little Entente but give the Yugoslavs advantages for which they had never even dared to hope. M. Stoyadinovitch, the Yugoslav Prime Minister, whose pro-German policy has for a long time worried the French, has now turned to Italy. Whether, in the long, run, Yugoslavia will trust either Rome or Berlin may be doubted and Prince Paul, who, after all, is now the leading personality in Yugoslav politics, is far more likely to look to Great Britain, where he spent so much of his time before he became Regent, than to Italy. But for the time being at any rate, the policy of his country is one which favours bilateral pacts rather than the

collective assistance which is the basis of the Little Entente and the Covenant of the League.

But other countries in Central and South-Eastern Europe are showing an unexpected confidence that they can retain their independence. I have referred before now to the amazing optimism of President Benes of Czechoslovakia. The more one studies the situation in that country the more one feels that his optimism is not merely for show. The German-Czech frontier is now so closely guarded that " volunteers " to help the Sudeten Germans, were they to get into trouble, could only amount to a few hundreds or thousands who could put up no show at all against the Czechoslovak army. Also by genuine, if somewhat belated concessions to the German minority, or to that part of it which does not owe loyalty to Herr Henlein, the Czech government has taken the wind out of the sails of Herr Henlein's party One is too apt to forget that there are in Czechoslovakia some eleven and a half million Czechs and Slovaks who, despite their quarrels, would certainly unite against an invader, and some three and a half million Germans of whom very many are bitter enemies of National-Socialism and all its work.

The Czechoslovaks failed at the Little Entente conference in Belgrade to get any pledge from their two partners in the Entente of mutual assistance in the event of attack by any other country except Hungary. But they are succeeding in a more important and interesting enterprise. There is now a better relationship between Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary than at any time since the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. Certainly closer co-operation between these three would be the result of fear of Germany and Italy, rather than of mutual affection, but it would have an economic *raison d'être* that the Little Entente has never had. And if Czechoslovakia and Hungary could push their political differences into the background there is no reason why the other Austrian Succession States should not enter into some much closer economic agreement which would make them far too powerful to be the pawns of Germany, Italy, France or Russia.

Dare We be Optimists?

There are three other features which encourage one to believe that the world political situation is improving. One is the crushing defeat in Brussels of M. Léon Degrelle, the Rexist leader. Had he

won a substantial increase of votes, instead of losing several thousands, democrats elsewhere would have been forced to admit that Fascism is not inevitably a product of political humiliation or economic misery. Oscar Wilde was apparently (and happily) wrong to declare that nothing succeeds like excess. A Belgium which renounced its glorious independence of spirit would have been a depressing and dangerous place.

President Roosevelt's Ambition

The second encouraging factor is the attitude of President Roosevelt towards Europe. He is far too shrewd a politician to suggest another World Peace Conference before the time is ripe, but he is also too stubborn a statesman to give up the idea of a reduction of armaments and tariff barriers during his second term of office. The British government knows that it will have the cordial support of the American administration in any step it may take in defence of democracy and collective security. Doubtless this knowledge depresses those members of the government who want to do nothing. To others it is an encouragement of the very greatest importance.

Things Are Moving

The third cheering fact is the effort being made by so many small but economically important European powers to agree upon the reduction of barriers to trade. M. van Zeeland, who has Mr. Eden's confidence more, perhaps, than any other Continental statesman, has this very useful bee in his bonnet, and can be trusted to push ahead as fast as he can towards a new and better-planned World Economic Conference. Mr. Sandler, Foreign Minister of Sweden, and his burly colleague, Mr. Stauning, Prime Minister of Denmark, have both been over here on visits which had nominally nothing, but actually everything, to do with the development of world trade. (I was amused to be invited to meet Mr. Stauning, who has the biggest beard of all the delegates to Geneva, at a luncheon given by the Worshipful Company of Barbers.) All these comings, goings and whisperings will make the forthcoming Imperial Conference the most important gathering of the kind since the Ottawa Conference in 1932.

We are not on the eve of a successful economic, political or disarmament conference. *Eppure se muove!*

WOOSTER OF WHITEHALL

(*With apologies to P. G. Wodehouse*)

WELL chappies, here we are, smoothing out the old fracas,
We've got control and all that sort of rot.
I've explored the whole posish, but I won't cry stinking fish,
Or the thing would absolutely go to pot.

I exude the good old tact *re* the breaches of the pact,
And I've beetled in to pour the spot of oil,
For the world feels safe and sound if we Woosters rally round
While the dear old League is pro tem. off the boil.

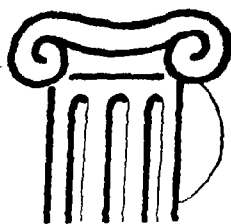
I maintain the cool perspective on the jolly old objective,
Prolonged pourparlers are my cup of tea ;
Though I mop the streaming brow when the colleagues start a row,
For we only meet to beat about the b.

Old Franco understands he may use whatever lands
So long as no one gives away the show ;
But I get the bally pip and the thing eludes the grip
When some blisters go and publish all they know.

When I see the heavy fist I am swift to grasp the gist
(We Woosters aren't the copper on the beat).
If at night we hurl the warning, we withdraw it in the morning
And jolly well remove the British Fleet.

We'll remain the old school friend till the bust up's at an end,
And Valencia's mangled fragments are inhaled ;
Then you'll all feel pretty braced that no step was stepped in haste,
And a cordial cameraderie prevailed.

We perceive the snag that lurks in the present painful circs.,
As we umpire the doings from afar ;
And the strength for holding back while we take the dirty crack,
Is the thing that makes us Woosters what we are.

REYNARD.

NO COMPROMISE WITH WAR

by VERA BRITTAIN

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing their views, articles by writers of international authority This month we have the pacifist case stated by a writer whose book, "Testament of Youth," on the war years seen through a woman's eyes, found heartfelt response among many thousands of readers Vera Brittain (who is the wife of Professor Catlin) is now a leading spirit in the pacifist movement in England

NOTHING is more gratifying to human nature than a supply of sound moral reasons for doing exactly what it wants to do. The nobler the alleged motives can be made to appear, the more thoroughly do they conceal that pursuit of self-interest in which mankind, especially of the British variety, has a peculiar distaste for acknowledging itself to be engaged

In England we are always completely innocent of aggressive intentions. When we decide, with expressions of profound reluctance, to embark upon a heavy armaments programme, it is never in order to outpace an ambitious neighbour, nor even to hold those vast possessions which we acquired so comfortably when there was no League of Nations nor organised pacifist opinion to interfere in our military adventures. With impeccable altruism we build tanks and bombing aeroplanes to defend the cause of peace. Our new programme, in the unimpeachable words of a recent *Times* leader, is designed "to use the strength of this country to promote a more reasonable temper in the world." How natural that our rulers should be hurt and surprised when less philanthropic governments misunderstand their pacific motives and credit them with quite other and preposterous intentions !

In 1920, when the League of Nations held its First Assembly, many of us pinned our war-tattered hopes to the brave new banner of collective security. Believing that the gradual strengthening of an international authority would make progressive disarmament possible, we overlooked the incurable tendency of every state to view its conduct in a favourable and forgiving light never vouchsafed to the behaviour of others. Or if indeed we did realise the ingenuity with which mankind is liable to camouflage its most questionable actions, we believed that the terrible lessons of the War would compel the leaders of the suffering peoples to face honestly the alternative between annihilation and a new conception of international morality.

Verbiage at Vienna

True, a flight from hypocrisy had not always been the consequence of previous wars. We recalled, for instance, the Holy Alliance of 1815, that grandiose experiment in international amity which Metternich scorned as "mere verbiage," Castlereagh repudiated as "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense," and Canning (in language reminiscent of present-day armament magnates) finally dismissed as "a beautiful phantom which England cannot pursue." Forced upon his fellow-rulers by Emperor Alexander I of Russia—the President Wilson of the Vienna Congress—its first Article has a sound disconcertingly familiar to those accustomed to the public pronouncements of contemporary European statesmen :

"The three contracting monarchs" (of Austria, Prussia and Russia) "will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and considering each other as fellow-countrymen, they will on all occasions and in all places lend each other aid and assistance: and regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect Religion, Peace and Justice."

Even by 1822, the year of the Verona Congress, Europe, in the words of an historian of that period, had already "moved away" from this particular brand of collective security. But after all (so we argued in the confident nineteen-twenties) the Holy Alliance was made by monarchs, not by the elected statesmen of democratic countries. The Covenant of the League rang more modestly in our ears. It had less to say about Religion, Peace and Justice, yet it

proposed methods of reaching these desirable objectives—" by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to War, by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations. . ." Yet, in the end, the chief difference between the aftermath of 1920 and that of 1815 lies in the fact that it has taken the post-War world sixteen years, instead of seven, to learn that " open, just and honourable relations between nations " are as difficult to maintain as Religion, Peace and Justice themselves.

Back to 1914

So great have been the obstacles in the way of this noble ideal, that today we find collective security identified with a particular alliance of the so-called " democratic " powers against the dictators. No amount of pious talk about a " Franco-Soviet Pact supported by Great Britain to defend collective security through the League of Nations " can disguise the fact that this gilded angel of internationalism is nothing more than the reincarnation of the Triple Entente which made the Great War inevitable by dividing Europe into two hostile camps.

The past half-decade has proved with disillusioning clarity that resistance to war-making by a superior aggregation of war-making forces merely results in entangling the machinery of peace with the machinery for war—which is better organised, more technically efficient, and directed by highly trained intelligences unimpeded by scruples. The precedents set up by Manchuria and Abyssinia have already demonstrated to would-be war-mongers that an aggressor will always get away with the spoil while the representatives of law and order are busily engaged in letting each other down.

Armaments, as Dr. L. P. Jacks recently pointed out, " are, of all the possessions of a sovereign state, the least susceptible of being pooled for any common purpose, since this would inevitably limit the sovereignty they are intended to maintain." As for sanctions, these complicated expedients appear in a different light the moment that a nation ceases to be the guardian of virtue applying them, and becomes the object of their infliction. Needless to remark, Great Britain could hardly imagine herself in any less dignified role than that of avenging champion of peace, but her attitude towards sanctions would undoubtedly undergo a sea-change if they were exercised, let us say,

against her right to bomb the native inhabitants of " outlying territories."

Pacifists who Recant

An article in the April number of *Headway* by the Secretary of the League of Nations Union illustrates the tragic fashion in which integrity is gradually lost by those peace-makers who endeavour to compromise with war. During the years immediately following the Armistice, many whole-hearted pacifists supported the League of Nations Union because of its magnificent and successful endeavours to create a peace-minded people. More recently the leaders of this organisation have changed, by almost imperceptible stages, into sorry apologists for the new militarism. When a prominent Union official can write that " the task of creating and maintaining justice . . . is more far-reaching and will loom larger . . . than the negative business of preventing war," it is clear that, by such advocates, the cause of peace is already lost. It was in the name of " justice " that the victorious Allies perpetrated the criminal blunder of Versailles—the bill for which is now being presented to them by Fascism. Those who exercise coercion and call it justice are liable to have such bills presented to them till the end of time.

Modern pacifists are no longer impressed by the argument that " preponderance of power " must enable " the forces available for preserving law and order " to " remain overwhelmingly greater than those of any likely aggressor." For some of us who recently took part in the B.B.C. programme, " Scrapbook for 1912," this contention bears an uncomfortable family likeness to certain words used at the Lord Mayor's Banquet of that year by Mr. Winston Churchill : " The relations between the two countries " (England and Germany) " have steadily improved during the year. They have steadily improved side by side with every evidence of our determination to maintain our naval supremacy. And the best way to make these relations thoroughly healthy and comfortable is to go right on and put an end to this naval rivalry by proving that we cannot be overtaken." The fact that the guardian of law and order was then (in British eyes) the British navy backed up by a Grand Alliance called the Triple Entente, whereas it is today the British navy and air-force backed up by another Grand Alliance called the League of Nations, makes little

difference to the certainty that explosive weapons, whatever the name in which they are collected, are equally liable to go off if a match is flung into the powder magazine.

For this reason the statement in *Headway* seems to me to embody not a peace policy but a war policy. Certainly it is a war policy for which the most edifying reasons are given, but this is a common characteristic of all war policies now that Field-Marshal Propaganda has become chief of staff. Not a single recruit would consent to die, let alone kill, for his country if the causes of any modern war were frankly stated. Nowadays, therefore, no nation fights any war but a righteous war, or piles up armaments for any reason but that of "defence." If the advocates of collective security intend to circulate this type of casuistry, the sooner they shut down and leave their job to the recruiting sergeant, the better for the honesty of mankind.

Specious Argument of Collective Security

From the standpoint of the genuine pacifist, collective security was bound to fail just because it always has involved this compromise with militarism which is the final disloyalty to the peace ideal. For its acceptance it has been obliged to depend, in peace-time, upon exactly the type of specious argument which is used to encourage enlistment in war.

"Just *this* war because it is quite different from all other wars. It is waged against militarism (or Kaiserism, or Fascism, or Communism) and is therefore a war in defence of peace and righteousness. Only help us to win this, and the world will never have to fight another."

So, in each successive crisis, the advocate of peace has been obliged to reconsider just what degree of war his conscience will permit. In the attempt to satisfy that conscience he has been presented with one ingenious justification after another—until recent disasters have shown him unmistakably that war-mongering will never be restrained by a policy of coercive alliances.

We shall keep, I hope, the League idea and the League organisation, for, apart from its valuable service of teaching the nations to co-operate in humanitarian causes, the Geneva machinery might work in a community of nations each of which had delegated a part of its national sovereignty to an international body in response to a general programme of disarmament. It cannot work while states still

dominated by balance-of-power doctrines are prepared to use its institutions as a camouflage for nationalist policies directed towards the maintenance of individual sovereignty.

So persistently have recent governments closed their eyes to the more disquieting lessons which experience teaches, that it now appears more feasible to persuade a majority of the populations in each country to repudiate war, than to get a majority of governments to agree upon any policy which involves abandoning their determination to be the supreme arbiters of their fate. This is not because no precedents exist for conciliation and commonsense on the part of statesmen. Monroe and Castlereagh took a considerable risk when in 1817, two years after an inconclusive treaty following a bitter war between the United States and Great Britain, they negotiated the Rush-Bagot agreement which for one hundred and twenty years has maintained peace along the three thousand miles of Canadian-American frontier. In 1860 Gladstone and Cobden, by arranging with Napoleon III that exemplary act of goodwill and commonsense known as the Cobden Treaty, bound up the commercial interests of England and France with the establishment of mutual friendship between those long hostile powers. But present-day statesmen appear to resemble not Monroe or Gladstone so much as the restored Bourbons, who after the Napoleonic Wars, so historians tell us, "had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing." Our politicians exceed even this limit of ineptitude, for they have learnt nothing and forgotten everything.

The past five years have proved beyond doubt that peace can only be attained by constructive peace proposals, and security by a fearless abandonment of the ancient and time-dishonoured game of power-politics. If this involves the break-up of imperialism, we could not see our Empire disrupt in a better cause. If it means a simpler, quieter, less arrogant way of life, at least it will be life instead of death.

No pacifist denies that a policy of disarmament has its risks in a world distraught by passions, grievances and ambitions, but all history shows that the willingness to take risks is an essential quality of distinguished statesmanship. Conciliation may fail, but it has an even chance of success. Re-armament, whether undertaken in the name of the League or of naked nationalism, can lead us nowhere but the edge of the abyss.

THE UNCHANGING SPANIARD

by WING-COMMANDER A. W. H. JAMES, M.P.

Wing-Commander James was one of the first British Members of Parliament to visit Madrid during the civil war. He has shown a sympathetic interest in the Spanish Government's struggle, but has nevertheless not forgotten certain characteristics of the Spanish temperament which are to be found on either side in the Civil War. He here gives us very apt and salutary quotations from histories of other days

I HAVE resisted the temptation to allow the vivid but cursory impressions of a visit to Spain to make me a partisan of the Civil War. But I saw enough to convince me that in a country and among a people that have changed less than any other in Europe the ample historical precedents are more than ordinarily instructive. The following quotations need no comment.

From Macaulay's Essay upon " The War of Succession in Spain " (1702-1713) :

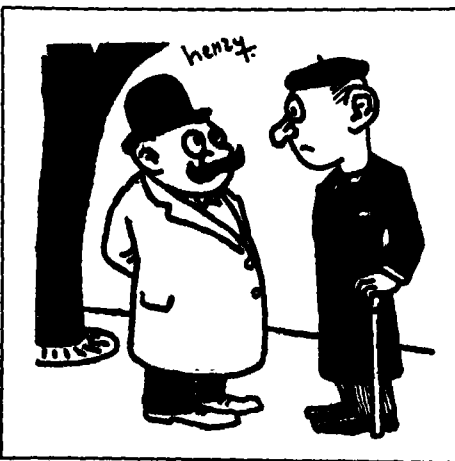
" There is no country in Europe which is so easy to over-run as Spain : there is no country in Europe which it is more difficult to conquer. Nothing can be more contemptible than the regular military resistance which Spain offers to an invader : nothing can be more formidable than the energy which she puts forth when her regular military resistance has been beaten down. Her armies have long borne too much resemblance to mobs ; but her mobs have had, in an unusual degree, the spirit of armies. The soldier, as compared with other soldiers, is deficient in military qualities ; but the peasant has as much of those qualities as the soldier. In no country have such strong fortresses been taken by surprise : in no country have unfortified towns made so furious and obstinate a resistance to great armies. War in Spain has, from the days of the Romans, had a character of its own ; it is a fire which cannot be raked out ; it burns fiercely under the embers ; and long after it has in all seeming been extinguished, bursts forth more violently than ever."

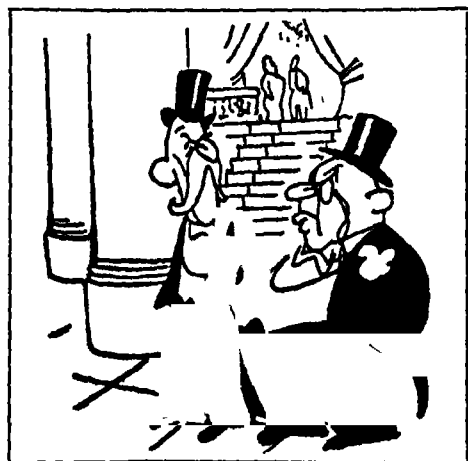
From Napier's Peninsular War, Volume I (1807-1814) :

" . . . Such, however, was the character of the Spaniards throughout this war : although prone to sudden and rash actions,

and weak in military execution, they were yet fierce and confident individually, and had always an intuitive perception of what was great and noble.

"The commotion of the 2nd of May was the forerunner of insurrections in every part of Spain, few of which were so honourable to the actors as that of Madrid. Unprincipled villains hailed this opportunity of directing the passions of the multitude, and under the mask of patriotism, turned the unthinking fury of the people against whomever it pleased them to rob or destroy : pillage, massacres, assassinations, cruelties of the most revolting kind, were everywhere perpetrated, and the intrinsic goodness of the cause was disfigured by the enormities committed at Cadiz, Seville, Badajoz, and other places ; but chiefly at Valencia, pre-eminent in barbarity at a moment when all were barbarous ! . . ."

"This universal and nearly simultaneous effort of the Spanish people was beheld by the rest of Europe with astonishment and admiration : astonishment at the energy thus suddenly put forth by a nation hitherto deemed unnerved and debased, admiration at the devoted courage of an act, which, seen at a distance, and its odious parts unknown, appeared with all the ideal beauty of Numantian patriotism. In England the enthusiasm was unbounded ; . . ."

"Marianne" Paris

"And now what can we call the rebels who've rebelled against the insurgents in Morocco?"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"In the first place, the Duce hasn't got any troops in Spain, and anyway he won't recall them."

"The Spanish character, with relation to public affairs, is distinguished by inordinate pride and arrogance. Dilatory and improvident, the individual as well as the mass, all possess an absurd confidence that everything is practicable which their heated imaginations suggest ; once excited, they can see no difficulty in the execution of a project, and the obstacles they encounter are attributed to treachery ; hence the sudden murder of so many virtuous men at the commencement of this commotion. Kind and warm in his attachments, but bitter in his anger, the Spaniard is patient under privations, firm in bodily suffering, prone to sudden passion, vindictive, bloody, remembering insult longer than injury, and cruel in his revenge. With a strong natural perception of what is noble, his promise is lofty, but as he invariably permits his passions to get the mastery of his reason, his performance is mean. . ."

"During Godoy's administration the property of the church had been trenched upon ; it was evident, from the example of France and Italy, that, under the new system, that operation would be repeated. This was a matter that involved the interests, and, of course, stimulated the activity of a multitude of monks and priests, who found no difficulty in persuading an ignorant and bigoted people that the aggressive stranger was also the enemy of religion and accursed of God ; processions, miracles, prophecies, distribution of reliques, and the appointment of saints to the command of the armies, fanaticised the mass of the patriots. In every part of the peninsula the clergy were distinguished for their active zeal ; monks and friars were invariably either leaders in the tumults, or at the side of those who were, instigating them to barbarous actions. . ."

"*As companions, they are incomparably the most agreeable of mankind ; but danger and disappointment attend the man who, confiding in their promises and energy, ventures upon a difficult enterprise. . .*"

"Filanghieri had organised an army in Galicia without difficulty, because the abundant supplies poured in from England were beginning to be felt, and patriotism is never more efficacious than when supported by large sums of money.

"Entering into formal relations with every knot of Spanish politicians that assumed the title of a supreme junta, the government

dealt with unsparing hands enormous supplies at the demand of those self-elected authorities ; they made no conditions, took no assurance that the succours should be justly applied, and with affected earnestness disclaimed all intention of interfering with the internal arrangements of the Spaniards, when the ablest men in Spain expected and wished for such an interference to repress the folly and violence of their countrymen ; . . ."

" . . . There are few nations that can pretend to vie with the Portuguese and Spaniards in the fabrication of plausible reports. . ."

" Mr. Frere (an Adviser to the British Government) although a person of some scholastic attainments, was ill-qualified for the duties of his situation, which at this moment required temper, sagacity, and judgment. Greatly over-rating his own talents for public affairs, he had come out to Spain impressed with false notions of what was passing in that country, and tenaciously clinging to the pictures of his imagination, he resented the intrusion of reason, and petulantly spurned at facts."

GENTLEMEN AND BARBARIANS

It was very distressing to read the other day that a number of Shanghai coolies, engaged in unloading bananas at Soochow Creek, had so far forgotten all they had learned from the Book of Rites and similar authoritative sources, about the manner in which gentlemen should comport themselves as to start smiting each other savagely One would think that over two thousand years of Confucian influence would have had an effect upon good manners, which would make it impossible for Chinese citizens to behave in the unruly manner of some Italian bluejackets and civilians at a cinema. We must not expect an angry Fascist mob to conduct itself in the restrained manner of gentlemen carefully trained in the Confucian code, but we do expect banana-coolies to set the foreign barbarians a good example, and we were very distressed to read of their unseemly behaviour.—*People's Tribune, Shanghai (after the wrecking of a Shanghai cinema by Italian sailors during the showing of a film of Abyssinia).*

PEACEFUL METHODS

California has shown that sit-down strikers can be made to evacuate the plants they have been holding against the law. At Santa Monica yesterday 343 sit-down strikers in the Douglas Aircraft plant were arrested and lodged in jail. It took 300 officers armed with grand-jury indictments, clubs, pistols, tear-gas bombs and machine guns to do it, but the officers finally won without the use of force.—*The Winfield, Kan., Daily Courier*, quoted in the *New Republic*, N.Y.

GERMANY'S COLONIAL ACHIEVEMENTS

by K. J.

We have received the following reply to Mr. Duncan Sandys's article in our March issue from a German who is qualified by personal knowledge to speak of his country's achievements in the colonial field

I THINK it is fairly clear today to all rightly thinking people on both sides of the Channel that that part of the Armistice Contract concerning the German colonies has been broken. It is a fact that Germany was here deceived by " paper assurances."

As to the material side of the question, Mr. Sandys is of the opinion that the Mandated Territories are of no great value either for Germany or for England. That for England they are of little importance, I willingly admit. What they would mean for Germany must be left to the German Government to decide.

The moral side of the question, however, is weightiest in Germany. During the war, and after, a great flood of falsehood threw suspicion on Germany, saying she was neither capable nor worthy of governing colonies herself.

It is obvious that Mr. Sandys has no notion what Germany achieved in her colonies, although they appeared to be of inferior economic value. The best connoisseurs of Africa in your country acknowledge unanimously that the pace of the development in the German Colonies was disproportionately swifter than in the rich colonies of any other Power. And these colonies were the great experimental fields for German science, especially for the medical faculty. Your settlers in Natal, in Rhodesia, Uganda, Kenya, etc., can nowadays breed cattle in peace and security, without having their whole stocks devastated every third or fourth year by East Coast Fever, thanks to the investigations of German scientists : and it is owing to German research work that white men in these districts can live without being endangered by tropical dysentery, malaria or sleeping sickness. And let us make a note of the fact that Germany practised this research activity chiefly after the war, when destitute of colonies. What could not have been done, if Germany had had the opportunity of testing results in her own colonies !

As to the native inhabitants whom Mr. Sandys seems to be so particularly interested in—may I be allowed to draw your attention to the fact that no colonising Power has taken more care of their native population than Germany did. The Native Law of the indigenous people was collected with more care than in any English colony. Perhaps Mr. Sandys will take the opportunity of inspecting the thirteen volumes in your Imperial Institute, which contain the Tribal Laws of the Natives in German Protectorates. And if Mr. Sandys is afflicted with anxiety as to whether the natives of the Mandated Territories would have a better or a worse life under German sovereignty than under the English flag, then he must seek information at the Health Department of your Colonial Office, and learn that the sleeping sickness which had been well kept in check by the German Government, has had a good opportunity of developing in the Cameroons and East Africa since 1914.

Then again the problem of being provided with raw material from colonial territories is seen by Mr. Sandys in quite a primitive form. Just the same arguments that one is accustomed to hearing

"Sydney Bulletin"

AN AUSTRALIAN IDYLL

"Right-oh, Ma, you start diggin' 'ere. Y'ought t' strike water 'bout two 'undred foot."

from superficial writers without any knowledge of the subject. And the fact mentioned by Mr. Sandys, that Germany has a comparatively good share of the trade with Tanganyika does not alter this one whit. We do not owe this in any way to the English administration, but simply to the fact that in Tanganyika German settlers are more numerous than English ones, and naturally prefer the German goods that they are accustomed to. In return Germany does buy sisal, coffee, tea and so on. But in Mr. Sandys's opinion Germany takes English pounds out of Tanganyika and makes use of them elsewhere. This is a point of view which any and every city clerk will smile at.

Mr. Sandys points out in his article that Germany is free to purchase raw materials in any foreign market, just as any Englishman can. Has Mr. Sandys not yet comprehended, that one can only buy if selling at the same time ?

But in the case of the German Colonies the matter is even simpler. They were wrested from Germany by breaking the Armistice Contract. If someone were unjustly to take away Mr. Sandys's watch, he would not be likely to consent to the suggestion of that same person, if he gave him permission to ask him what o'clock it was whenever he wished to know the time. Mr. Sandys would certainly want to wear his own watch in his own pocket.

The hysterical fear that Germany might make use of her colonial possessions to fortify them as a base wherefrom to attack the Empire, is really best characterised by Joseph Chamberlain's expression, quoted by Mr. Dawson : such hysterical fear is entitled " humiliating " and is called " the pettish outcry of frightened children." Quite on the contrary, the bigger the colonial territory, the greater the guarantee for Germany's love of peace : for by the Naval Agreement with England, Germany has, by her own free will, brought her fleet into such a relation to the English fleet, that her colonies abroad could never be defended by the navy in time of war. And besides this the German Chancellor has expressly declared that this comparative size of the fleet would not be altered even if Germany were to possess colonies abroad.

More would be achieved towards building up world peace by a broadminded and just regulation of the German colonial claims, such as Mr. Dawson suggests, than by dozens of Parliamentary speeches and conferences.

CORONATION QUIPS

From GERMANY:

Marshal Tukachevsky and M. Litvinov rehearse for the Coronation.

"Die Brennessel," Munich.

From ITALY:

The Negus invited to the Coronation.

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome.

SMOULDERING FIRES
The Frontier That No Man May Pass

by HANS NIETER

How many of us realise the state of affairs still existing on the Polish-Lithuanian frontier, as a result of the Polish General Zeligowski's occupation in 1920 of Vilna, claimed by the Lithuanians as their capital? Mr. Nieter, who here describes how he passed this man-made barrier, gained his experiences while taking a film (which he has entitled "Smouldering Fires") of Europe's danger-spots

SLOWLY the train drew out of Tilsit and on to the bridge which crossed the Niemen river-frontier between Germany and Lithuania. Behind us we could see the white houses of Tilsit lining the banks of the river, but on the other side there was absolutely no sign of human habitation. Lithuania greeted us with marshes and bogland. For more than half an hour the train carried us through this remote landscape until we reached Pagegiai, the first little town in Lithuania. Military and gendarmerie dashed up and down the platform of the station. There were only about five people in the train, as the Germans do not care to cross into Memel territory.

As soon as the train started to crawl towards Memel the national pride of the new little country became evident. Wherever there was room enough, the national coat of arms was fixed, even on the side of the track. Reaching Memel at a very late hour, the only person to greet us was a tiny little porter with an enormous beard, who gazed in wonderment at our cameras and tripods. My camera-man, who had never been out of England before, roared with laughter.

Next morning we started work under the clear Baltic sky. It was just after a big political trial, and the air was tense. We were warned by several Memelites that the town was full of Lithuanian secret police and *agents provocateurs.* We did not bother about any warnings, but set up our tripod and "shot" whatever we wanted to, with the result that we were soon surrounded by four men with big feet. Taking us by the arm and showing us enormous badges, they led us to the police station, and accused us of being in the pay of the Nazis. In vain we protested that we were English film-journalists

and had nothing to do with the German Gestapo. They took no notice of our excuses and only the timely arrival of the British Vice-Consul saved us from seeing the inside of a Lithuanian State prison. We were released on condition that we reported to the Foreign Office in Kaunas. That was easy, because, feeling like martyrs, we intended to go there anyway.

Kaunas, the Lithuanian name for Kovno, is the so-called "provisional capital" of Lithuania. The historical capital, Vilna, was occupied by the Poles in October, 1920. In 1923 the Conference of Ambassadors "gave" Vilna to Poland, which was a good way out, seeing that the Poles had it already. However, Lithuania has not given up its claim to sacred Vilna and will have nothing to do with Poland. All diplomatic relations are broken off and the frontier, or the line of demarcation as the Lithuanians prefer to call it, has become impassable for Lithuanian and Pole alike.

They Shoot at Sight

At the Foreign Office in Kaunas I got permission to go to the border. As for crossing it into Poland, the Lithuanian Government would give me permission, but the Poles would almost certainly not let me in, as they shoot at sight anybody approaching their line. I enquired if I could send a wire or letter to Warsaw to get a permit. But that was out of the question, as there was not even postal communication between the two countries. So I went to the British Legation, which sent a wire to our representative in Riga. From there it was forwarded to the Polish Foreign Office in Warsaw, where they knew me. And by the same express method I got the Polish permit, which stated that I and my colleague had to cross the frontier at one particular sector and on such and such a day. All this in A.D. 1936.

There is a direct road leading from Kaunas to the border. It will be a long time before I forget it. We went by car and the jolting over huge pot-holes in the road nearly made us sea-sick. True, someone tried to even the road by putting branches and stones in the holes, but that made it all the worse. Moreover, cars seemed to be unknown in that part of the country, for whenever we passed a cart the horse bolted and threw the cart into the ditch. Some of the more experienced peasants blindfolded their horses when we approached.

The country itself is lovely. Long stretches of rolling plains, then huge forests, dark and melancholy as the songs of Russia. Here and there we stopped to take scenes of rural Lithuanian life. We stayed in small peasant houses, and sat round the tiled Russian stoves, ladling out our sour milk. Once we were surprised to hear someone snoring from the top of the stove. It was Grandad hibernating ; apparently the flat top of the huge stoves is a good place to sleep on. The peasants were extremely hospitable. They gave us the best they had and asked little in return. In some of the villages the population is almost completely Jewish, but they get on very well with their Christian neighbours. Anti-semitism, so prevalent in Poland, seems non-existent in Lithuania.

From time to time we saw evidence of the longing to get back Vilna. Some posters showed a howling wolf with the inscription underneath : " Remember Vilna." Every day at sunset in Kaunas there is an impressive ceremony. On the square in front of the War Ministry stands a cairn erected with stones collected on all the battle-fields where Lithuanians fought. A party of war veterans march with their band to the cairn. Then a trumpet sounds mournfully and the flag on the War Ministry is lowered. A soldier smartly steps up to an old sacrificial stone slab and lights a fire with pine branches. And whilst the smoke curls round the cairn, a voice cries " Remember Vilna ! " The Lithuanians are not allowed to forget their loss, and the visitor is conscious of the smouldering fire of a frustrated people.

A Stifled Province

The nearer we came to the border the more evident became this sense of frustration. It must be remembered that when the Poles took Vilna, the vast hinterland which once fed its markets remained with Lithuania. It is now left in the air and has at present no real value. The Lithuanians, still hoping that fate will one day return Vilna to them, have developed other parts of the country more generously. But here, near the border, economic conditions were very bad in every way. Vilna is closed. So where can the peasants sell the fruits of their labour ? This seems to me the real problem. Of course, a solution would be to give to Poland this " province in the air," but the prestige and national pride of Lithuania would never allow this. The Poles would never dream of relinquishing

Vilna, especially now that the heart of Marshal Pilsudski is buried there, and it has become a shrine for Poland. So a province is doomed to die on the altar of international economics. And here is a brave little country, defying both the might of Germany and Poland. We asked several prominent people what they would do if their powerful neighbours were to attack them ; the reply was always the same : " Russia will come to the rescue, Russia will help us ! "

Having arrived at Vievis, we found the commander of the troops in charge of that sector both charming and helpful. As night fell, we went to stay with an old White-Russian squire. He showed us the ruins of the old manor house which was burned down by the Bolsheviks during fighting in April, 1919. Undaunted, he built a wooden block-house just on the border.

No Man's Land

It is the most curious frontier imaginable. No international commission made the survey, giving here and taking there. Brute force divided the land. Where the troops stood when the armistice between Poland and Lithuania was signed, that is the frontier. No matter if the border divided a man's land or forest. This armistice has now lasted for seventeen years, and has never been followed up by a peace treaty.

The armies of the two nations are still there, waiting to fall on each other should some provocative incident take place. They call it the " Green Frontier," for there is a stretch of no man's land between the two lines, overgrown with weeds and brushwood during these long years.

We had to be careful not to photograph outside our sector. It would have been asking for trouble to have put up tripods and cameras in sight of patrols who knew nothing of our permits. Bullets are rather loose in the barrel on both sides. We were still on the Lithuanian side, shepherded by our Commander. Then we saw a strange sight which brought a lump to our throats. A woman with a small child approached one of the barriers barring the unused road. From the Polish side, also, two women came as far as they dared, about fifty yards from our side. They started to shout to each other and wave. The child started to run towards the women on the other side, but was stopped by one of the frontier guards. It was as if they

were worlds apart ; members of one family, divided by a cruel political fate. The Lithuanians could not enter Poland and the others, having become Polish whether they liked it or not, could never hope to enter Lithuania. The more wealthy can meet their loved ones on neutral ground, usually in Latvia. Both parties may only live a few hundred yards apart, but if the " Green Frontier " divides them they have to travel many hundreds of miles to a neutral country to shake each other by the hand. Of course, most of them can't afford such a luxury. We were fortunate enough to capture this scene with our cameras and it touched us deeply.

Crossing over into Poland, we met a patrol of frontier guards. The Polish soldiers guarding the Lithuanian and Soviet borders are a specially selected body of men, and must have reached a high standard of education. The corps is called *Korpus Ochrany Pogranitza* (K.O.P.) and is organised on the lines of the North-West Mounted Police. A Company is a completely self-contained unit. Apart from their stringent duty of guarding Poland's eastern frontiers, the K.O.P. are also responsible for the welfare of the peasants. For days we went with them on their patrols, visiting and inspecting peasant houses. First a K.O.P. would take a sample of water from the well, for the water has to be periodically examined for typhoid. Then the house was examined. If found wanting in cleanliness, the few pieces of furniture were thrown out and the place was given a good scrubbing with soap and soda provided by this remarkable patrol. In their wooden barracks some members of the K.O.P. were giving lessons to peasants on all sorts of subjects, even on nursing. And it is a very strange sight indeed to see a sergeant, instead of drilling his recruits, giving a lecture to young mothers on the care of their babies. In another small hall with a tiny stage, some men were rehearsing a play. Every fortnight the K.O.P. give a performance to the villagers in order to acquaint them with the national arts. At noon tables were set outside and under-nourished children fed. Every man of the K.O.P. gives a small part of his allowance to this food fund, as the State is too poor to set a sum aside for this purpose.

Then, taking the small railway from the border we at last arrived at our objective—Vilna. Vilna, for which Lithuania yearns ; Poland's national shrine and to Europe an ever-present danger.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Duel in Brussels

ORTHODOX politics have scored a triumph in Belgium. In single conflict, M. van Zeeland, the Prime Minister, has beaten Léon Degrelle, Rexist leader, off the field. In other words, brains have gòt the better of ballyhoo—a credit to the good sense of the Brussels electors.

It is a sign of the times. During the depression, credulity and impoverishment went hand in hand. Huey Long, Townsend, Father Coughlin, Upton Sinclair, Aberhart, Major Douglas, even Sir Oswald Mosley, sprang into the limelight as panacea-merchants. But, as things got better without them, the public decided they were quacks. The same has been happening in Belgium.

Retort Discourteous

The Rexists have only been in the public eye for a year and a half. Yet, after the 1936 elections, they were able to send 12 senators and 21 deputies to the Belgian Parliament. This success was mainly due to the phenomenal energy of the 30-year-old party leader who has been known to address as many as fourteen public meetings in one day.

Degrelle, who is a *petit bourgeois* from the Ardennes, has two qualities in excess : vitality and self-assurance. Convinced that he is right on all points, he never stops to think or argue. At one meeting, a socialist miner asked him a pertinent question. " Take off your spectacles, you old fool," thundered Degrelle in reply. The third-form gag worked, and everybody laughed at the questioner.

"Christus Rex"

Degrelle started as an ardent supporter of the Catholic youth movement at Louvain University. On the strength of a report in which he reviewed the persecution of the Church in Mexico, he was placed in charge of a newly-opened Catholic publishing house, known as "Christus Rex." Hence the name of the party.

Shocking the Grown-ups

At first, publicity for Degrelle's ideas was confined to a series of monthly magazines with a very small circulation. Nothing much was known of him or his group until the opening of the Catholic Congress at Courtrai in November, 1935. The chief speakers were a number of rather tired elder statesmen. Suddenly Degrelle burst into the hall, followed by a band of young supporters.

Degrelle : "Allow me to speak."

The Chairman : "But you have no right—"

Degrelle (jumping on to the platform) : "I will speak."

And, before anyone could stop him, he was in the middle of a violent attack on the "politico-financiers" who were running the country.

Purity Campaign

This was the keynote of his subsequent campaign. Like Colonel de la Rocque, the Croix de Feu leader in France, he denounced the corruption of the politicians in power and demanded to be allowed to "purify" the country. This was to be done by infusing a new spirit into class relations, by coming to terms with the Flemish nationalists, and by kicking out the socialists and communists.

New Brooms

One day a party of Young Rexists, armed with brooms, appeared in front of a café where politicians meet, and began sweeping the pavement. A crowd soon gathered, but before there could be any trouble the volunteer street sweepers were taken off to the police station—escorted by a horde of press photographers. More publicity for Degrelle.

Fun and Games

During the recent duel, Brussels burgeoned with posters. A

chubby, broad-shouldered Degrelle smirked at a dry, distinguished-looking van Zeeland. "*Votez Degrelle, ne votez pas Kerensky!*" screamed one set of posters. "*Votez Belge, votez van Zeeland,*" came the reply; only Rexists, childish as usual, rubbed out the "v" of the second "*votez,*" leaving "*ôtez* (remove) *van Zeeland.*" But none of these tricks prevailed against the Prime Minister, himself a young man, with a solid record of achievement behind him.

LÉON DEGRELLE
forgetting here to practise the Dictator's Scowl

Sober Earnest

In internal politics, this quiet, hard-working, level-headed banker has won the credit for pulling his country out of the depression. In foreign affairs, he first became prominent at Geneva over the organisation of sanctions against Italy. Sir Samuel Hoare, then Foreign Secretary, told me at the time how much he was struck by the Belgian statesman's ability and quickness to understand the British point of view.

For Auld Lang Syne

Two lurid stars have fused for a second time in the German firmament: Hitler and Ludendorff. Nearly fourteen years ago they marched side by side through the streets of Munich in an abortive attempt to overthrow the Weimar republic. At the trial which followed the failure of the "beer-house Putsch," Ludendorff pleaded not guilty of high treason and was acquitted. Hitler pleaded guilty and gained the prestige of imprisonment in a fortress.

The result was, not unnaturally, a sudden coolness between the two. On being set free, Hitler declared roundly that the General was devoid of all political sense. The fiasco of Ludendorff's subsequent attempt to run for the presidency showed that the ex-corporal was right.

The Aryan Way

Tutzing—a pretty village on the shores of the Starnbergersee in Bavaria—is now the General's home. From there, in conjunction with his young second wife, who shares his hatred for "Reds," Jesuits, Jews and Freemasons, he summons Germany to regeneration through a return to paganism. His championing of political and religious racialism has no doubt helped to reconcile him with the extreme Nazis, to whom humility is only a flaw in the heroic character.

Total Warrior

The General also made a splash recently with his book entitled *The Total War*, based on the idea that life has no other object and that the whole nation must be organised to obey its military leaders. So far, so good, from the Nazi point of view, but in his latest pamphlets (mainly seized by the Gestapo) he has dared to criticise German intervention in Spain. But in this he is only giving voice to the general opinion in the German army, and Hitler, too, seems to have changed his mind ; anyhow, the General's 72nd birthday was a good moment for a friendly gesture.

Wotan Nods

Two years before, Ludendorff would have nothing to do with Hitler's offer of a Field-Marshal's baton. "Anyone can become a Marshal," he remarked, "but one has to be born a great soldier."

Shortly afterwards the old Junker declared, "Honour, glory, gratitude, mean nothing to me : only one thing counts—power."

But, now, even the protection of Wotan hasn't saved him from eating his words.

The Mighty Fallen

The arrest of Yagoda, formerly chief of the Ogpu, then Commissar of Communications, shows once more the precariousness of power in the U.S.S.R. Yet Stalin has every reason to be lenient : Yagoda was the first prominent Bolshevik to call him a genius.

Born in a Polish ghetto, Yagoda started life by failing in a number of school exams. His family thought so little of him that they applied to him the Hebrew proverb : "When he sells hats, people are born without heads ; when he sells shoes, they are born without feet."

Jekyll and Hyde

Finally the boy got a job as an assistant chemist at Nijni-Novgorod, where he married the niece of Sverdloff, leader of the local Bolshevist party. When the revolution broke out, his influential uncle-in-law recommended him to Dzerzinsky, then Ogpu chief, under whom he distinguished himself for his ruthlessness.

Once outside his office Yagoda was much liked for his charm and breadth of culture, although there was always something of the cat hiding its claws about him.

Perhaps Stalin found him too independent ; perhaps he did not discover the " Trotzkyite " plot soon enough ; at any rate his fall from grace means one justification the less for Hitler's sneers at the power of the " Marxist Jews."

Not so *High Hat*

Two stories about the late Sir Austen Chamberlain seem still worth repeating.

Foreign journalists often admired the affability with which he greeted the numerous political adventurers whom he was forced to meet at Geneva. One correspondent asked him the reason for his good nature. " It is part of my business," the Foreign Secretary replied, " to shake hands which my sovereign could not touch."

At home, in the House of Commons, Sir Austen generally wore a top-hat, which he raised slightly whenever a speaker referred to him. One day, when Winston Churchill was speaking, Sir Austen took off his hat owing to the heat. Even Mr. Churchill paused in surprise. Then his presence of mind returned : " And I trust the Secretary for Foreign Affairs approves," he added hastily. The honour of the House was saved.

REWARD FOR CATCALLS

The Cavara Prize, amounting to 2,500 lire, has been awarded for this year to those eight Italian journalists who whistled at the Negus in the hall of the League of Nations, thus giving practical expression to the indignation of the Italian people at " Tafari's " appearance at Geneva. The Cavara Prize has to be awarded to a journalist who, in the course of the preceding year, has distinguished himself in literary or other accomplishments. The eight journalists did not accept the prize, but renounced it in favour of a colleague who had lost everything he possessed through the Spanish war.—*Berliner Tageblatt.*

ADRIATIC ARMISTICE—

The recent Italo-Jugoslav agreement has aroused great interest throughout Europe, partly because it is concluded between two Governments which have for so long been at loggerheads, and partly because of the fear, or the hope, that it means the end of the Little Entente. On one point only there seems general agreement—that Italy offered Jugoslavia such favourable terms that she could hardly have refused them

"PEACE" PACTS THAT HELP WAR

From "Le Journal de Moscou" (Organ of the Soviet Foreign Office)

IT is not just chance that the conclusion of the Italo-Jugoslav agreement should remind many of the Polish-German Pact of 1934. No one, of course, will maintain that the Polish-German Pact, which seemed to have brought peace to one of the most dangerous of Europe's sectors, has really consolidated peace and lessened the

chances of war. It would be much truer to say that this pact has strengthened and encouraged German aggression and put Poland at the service of that aggression. It is natural that fears should be expressed that the Italo-Jugoslav agreement should have similar results.

Of Europe's political antagonisms, territorial or otherwise, the bitterest and least amenable to peaceful solution, have been, and are, those between Poland and Germany. Of all the articles of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany considered that the most humiliating and the most intolerable were those relating to the Polish-German frontier, which separated Germany proper from East Prussia by the Polish "corridor," deprived her of the German town of Danzig and gave Upper Silesia to Poland.

It is unbelievable that Germany in general, and Hitler's Germany in particular, can ever definitely acquiesce in this situation and not dream of re-establishing the *status quo ante bellum.* Hitler, striking out one by one what he considers to be the unjust and humiliating terms of the Versailles Treaty, cannot forget the Polish corridor, which is a painful thorn in Germany's side. Hitler, who dreams of uniting under his "sceptre" all true Germans and even pseudo-Germans, including German-speaking Swiss and the Flemish of Belgium and Holland, will not forget Danzig with its 95 per cent. genuinely German population. Hitler, who continually complains that Germany cannot exist without raw materials from distant colonies, cannot long shut his eyes to Upper Silesia, which is rich in minerals, within easy reach, and once belonged to Germany.

Hitler's Plan of Campaign

For all his fanaticism Hitler is not entirely without a sense of reality. He realises he is not in a position to kill in one fell swoop the whole of the Versailles Treaty and give Germany back her pre-war frontiers. He has applied himself to this task with a certain gradualness, taking the line of least resistance. He realises that the old Polish-German frontier cannot be restored without a war. Germany is not yet in position to fight Poland because of the latter's alliance with France and because of Article 16 of the League Covenant. That is why Hitler began by destroying the clauses of Versailles which for-

bade Germany's becoming, for purposes of revenge, a military and naval power. There was almost no risk for him in tearing up these clauses. There was a certain risk when he decided to remilitarise the Rhineland in order to prevent, or at any rate delay, France's coming to the aid of Poland, her eastern ally. Finally, he is trying to weaken and destroy the Franco-Polish alliance by the conclusion of a new Locarno ; he is trying to undermine the League of Nations, or at any rate, Article 16. Having thus consolidated his position, and with his rear protected by the Polish-German pact, Hitler will probably try to seize Austria and Czechoslovakia, after making the Balkan States and Hungary his minions. After which he will be able to proceed without danger to the abolition of the rest of the Versailles Treaty relating to the East, without bothering whether the ten-year period, provided for in the Polish-German Pact, has elapsed or not.

It is thus clear that the Polish-German Pact is not an instrument of peace but one which strengthens Germany's aggressive plans. What does Poland get out of it? A temporary peace of ten years or less? But this peace would be surer were Germany disarmed, forced to observe the Versailles Treaty and threatened by France in case of an attack on Poland.

The Duce's Appetite for Aggression

All that we have just described may well be repeated in the case of the Italo-Jugoslav agreement. Of course Italy did not emerge a vanquished nation from the world war and has no reason to desire revenge. But the remaking of the map of Europe at the end of the war and the advent of militaristic fascism in Italy, have aggravated the Adriatic problem, which was already there, and the struggle for the Balkans. Had these problems not existed, there would have been no reason for the tension which there has been up to now in Italo-Jugoslav relations.

The Treaty signed at Belgrade does not solve these problems but merely postpones their solution.

Although Mussolini, whenever he deems it necessary, says that after the conquest of Abyssinia Italy is to be considered among the satisfied nations, this conquest has whetted rather than satisfied his appetite for aggression. Only (and here he differs from Herr Hitler)

Mussolini has decided to take the line of *greatest* resistance. Intoxicated by his victories in Abyssinia, and relying on the support of his temporary ally Hitler, Mussolini dreams of establishing his supremacy in the Mediterranean and even of competing with Great Britain. A master of bluff and threatening gestures, he is trying to compel Great Britain at least to recognise Italy as an equal and not to hinder the realisation of some of her designs. It is for this reason that Mussolini, having failed to make an agreement with Primo de Rivera, has decided to install himself in Spain where, together with Herr Hitler, he has provoked a civil war and where he is now trying to establish a fascist regime which will do whatever he wants.

To achieve these ends fascist Italy had to cover its rear. That is the meaning of the agreement with Jugoslavia. When these aims are achieved a strengthened Italy will turn once more to Adriatic and Balkan problems and will use for their solution any extra power she may have acquired.

A few small concessions were made to Jugoslavia in the agreement. There was, for instance, a verbal promise to cease giving aid to the

DISQUIET (Italians taken prisoner in Spain sang the "Red Flag" —Press report.)

"Now, where did they learn it? I thought I was the only one in Italy who remembered it!"

"*Le Populaire*," *Paris*

oustachis (terrorists), and Belgrade received certain trade concessions. But, on the whole, it is Italy who gets all the advantages.

Jugoslavia receives a temporary period of pseudo-peace, which she would probably have had in any case. But on the other hand, she is helping her formidable neighbour to grow stronger and is weakening her relations with France, with the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente and, whether she likes it or not, is ranging herself among those countries which oppose the League of Nations and other guarantees of security in Europe. It is a victory for aggression, not for the cause of peace.

Peace and genuine security for all countries, including Poland and Jugoslavia, can only be guaranteed by a system of collective security and not by bilateral pacts with aggressor nations who have given proof enough of their contempt for all promises, verbal or written, and for all obligations.

A NEW EUROPEAN FIGURE
M. Stoyadinovitch and the Balkans

From " Het Volk," Amsterdam

AFTER the assassination of King Alexander, Jugoslavia had a minor for its king. Very little is said about him, but he is no doubt receiving a good education. The King's state duties are attended to by a Regency council consisting of two or three members, of whom Prince Paul, the murdered king's brother, is the most conspicuous figure. He, too, is but little in the public eye ; nowadays princes live in obscurity. The leading figure in Jugoslavia is Stoyadinovitch, Prime Minister and dictator. For many years Jugoslavia has had a parliament in name only, for until the Government comes to an agreement with Matchek, the Croat leader, it would be useless to call a Parliament. It would simply have to be dissolved again.

During the last few months, Stoyadinovitch has enjoyed increasing predominance in the Press. The fact that he is a banker receives a certain emphasis. Is that a recommendation, or may it give rise to the supposition that he has no understanding of politics and diplomacy ?

A CORNER OF THE EUROPEAN NETWORK

Czecho-Slovakia—Rumania—Jugoslavia, united in the Little Entente: Czechoslovakia — France, allied · France — Russia, allied: Czecho-Slovakia—Russia, allied: Jugoslavia—Bulgaria, united in pact: Jugoslavia—Italy, united in new friendship agreement · Italy—Germany, united in friendship agreement ("Rome-Berlin axis"). Hungary, anxious for revision of her frontiers, stands out

We incline to the former opinion. Moreover, professional diplomats enjoy a very evil reputation; their powers of comprehension and even their moral qualities are not held in very high esteem by the public. More and more diplomatic and political dignities are conferred upon laymen, and the number of bankers among these laymen is no small one. We do not have to look far to ascertain this: our neighbour, van Zeeland, comes from the banking world, and even if we shake our heads dubiously over his foreign policy, he is always spoken of with respect.

When we speak of the Balkans, especially Bulgaria and Jugoslavia, we must be careful not to judge these countries by Western democratic

standards. Up to 1878 the whole of Bulgaria and the greater part of what is now Jugoslavia were under Turkish rule ; between the Slav peasants and the Turkish feudal land-owners there existed a Greek clergy. After 1878 the Balkans became the scene of intrigues of the great Powers, Russia, Turkey, Germany, Great Britain and Italy. The Slavs were a people without history and the nineteenth century was the age of their awakening ; because of the mutual struggle of the great Powers for supremacy in the Balkans, their national renaissance took place in an atmosphere of terrorism, revolution and war.

The new frontiers were only traced after 1918, so the new states have not yet had twenty years in which to find their feet and thrive within the limits laid down by the conquerors. The Bulgarians find that the territory meted out to them is too small, but the Jugoslavs think it quite large enough. All the Balkan peoples have unfulfilled national cravings, and not all of them, at the bottom of their hearts, profess the Kellogg creed, that it is a sin to attain national aims by means of warfare. But all realise that no greater danger can threaten them than to be once more the plaything of the politics of the Great Powers.

Playthings of the Great Powers

The politics of the Great Powers have not yet finished here. Shortly after the Great War the Greeks were encouraged by London to extend their territories in Asia Minor. They had to pay dearly for their ambition. The dictatorship of Moscow stirred up the Balkans in the cause of world-revolution, or at least of Pan-Slavism. It did not succeed in doing very much harm. Then Fascist Italy was created. With the consent of France and Great Britain it made Albania an outpost in the Balkans ; by closing the Adriatic Sea—*mare italianissimo*—and maintaining bands of terrorists from Macedonia, Italy attempted to paralyse Jugoslavia and make a vassal state of it. And more recently Göring and Schacht have undertaken diplomatic and business trips to the Balkans : Goring brought for the boy who is one day to be King of Jugoslavia a whole set of electric toy trains, whilst Schacht tried to buy grain and cattle in exchange for cannon. Thus, little by little, the old game is being resorted to.

With the exception of Bulgaria, which had to pay the cost of

the Balkan wars and the world war, the Balkan peoples look for support and security to France, Great Britain and the League of Nations. The Little Entente has been called an agreement between Jugoslavia, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, to prevent the restoration of the House of Habsburg. This policy is not destined to last for ever. The union with France is becoming weaker because of the way in which she gave in to Italy over Abyssinia and, later, so tamely swallowed Hitler's "surprises." Expectations built up round the League of Nations were bitterly disappointed when the League seemed powerless to put a stop to Mussolini's war of aggression in Africa.

The New Leader

Has the influence of the Little Entente also diminished? As long as the danger of the restoration of the Habsburg monarchy exists, the Little Entente will remain. Yet even here internal changes have taken place. For years its leading figures were the president of the Czechoslovakian Republic, Dr. Masaryk, and his foreign minister, Benes, two exceptional personalities. Masaryk retired from political life and Benes became President of the Republic. He is still the leader, but he does not control everyday matters. The coming man in the Little Entente appeared to be Titulescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister. Titulescu was dismissed by his compatriots. There were competitors, who thought that he had had a long enough innings, and that it was their turn now. They have only one disadvantage compared with Titulescu: they are much "smaller" than he. Thus the most powerful figure of the Little Entente has come to be Stoyadinovitch, the Serbian banker. He is no pattern of subservient democracy. He wants to give Parliament a place in his own country, but it must be a submissive Parliament. He has the power and intends to keep it. He will respect the old formulæ in which European peace is interred, but he will not let his hands be bound. He will not let Jugoslavia be the plaything of the Great Powers, but he will turn their neutral jealousies to advantage for the benefit of his country. He is a banker and knows how much to risk. He has concluded a treaty of perpetual friendship with Bulgaria and one with Italy which will put an end to Italian interference in his country, and to regicides, besides doubling the export of Jugoslav goods to Italy and freeing Jugoslav shipping from Italian oppression in the Adriatic.

Many people shake their heads at so much enterprise, but it is to be remembered that the Balkans must henceforth stress their strongest motif, to be themselves. It will no longer be the lot of the Balkan peoples to bear the burden of the mutual jealousies of the Great Powers.

THE LEAGUE IGNORED

From "Le Temps," Paris

THE only fact which need particularly concern us at the present moment, is that the Italo-Jugoslav agreements were concluded outside the League and without any reference to the spirit and the letter of the Geneva Covenant. They are, in fact, bilateral agreements of the type approved by Germany. It is of course understandable that Italy, in the present state of her relations with Geneva, should have wished to come to terms with Belgrade without reference to the Covenant. But it is surprising that the Jugoslav Government, which, like the other Little Entente countries, has always declared its support for the League, should have taken to these methods, when all the treaties which link her to other powers were definitely concluded within the framework of the Covenant. As these treaties are still in force and, according to the Belgrade government itself, are in no way affected by the new agreements with Italy, it is clear that Jugoslavia is bound by their general provisions, as well as by the obligations falling on all States members of the great international institution. It is at least strange in these circumstances that some Italian papers should take pleasure in emphasising that the new agreement with Belgrade is a sign that the system of bilateral guarantee pacts is gradually replacing the League system.

AN OFFSET TO GUADALAJARA

From "L'Homme Libre," Paris

WE are faced with a pact of friendship which contains no clause relating to political collaboration abroad, and no provisions for mutual assistance, so if we consider the pact by itself there is nothing in it to give rise to anxiety.

But let us look at it a little closer. Some weeks ago a Bulgarian-Jugoslav treaty was concluded. Knowing the influence of Italy at the court of Sofia, we did not fail to observe that this treaty was only the beginning of a huge diplomatic effort undertaken by Italy in the Balkans.

However convinced we may be of the solidity of the Little Entente, we cannot forget that it once agreed to have but one foreign policy, one diplomacy. How times have changed ! Hostile forces have been at work, propaganda has been brought into play, the League of Nations has disappointed those who believed in it, the Spanish war has fixed the attention of the western democracies on an immediate and very serious problem. On the banks of the Danube and in the Balkans the different countries directly exposed to the gusts of Hitlerism have tried to organise themselves as well as possible.

The Austrian Chancellor is trying to draw Hungary, less reluctant since the death of Gomboes, towards the Little Entente. And in this part of Europe fear of Berlin has thrown governments into the arms of Rome.

Towards Italian Mastery

From another point of view we are forced to admit that Mussolini, absorbed as he is by Spanish affairs and by the organisation of Abyssinia, is following none the less resolutely his plan of Mediterranean expansion. The conclusion of the " Gentlemen's Agreement " with Britain, the Milan conversations of Count Ciano with M. Rustu Aras, the Turkish Foreign Minister, the Duce's journey to Libya, the conclusion of this latest pact—all these events are so many steps towards the hegemony which Mussolini wishes to exercise in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Perhaps Rome would have been less eager to conclude the agreement if the necessity had not arisen, after the unfortunate Guadalajara battles, to re-assert in a striking manner the prestige of its regime. To be convinced of this, you only need to glance at the Italian Press and see the way that the new agreement is heralded as a magnificent success of fascist diplomacy.

A success ? Possibly. It is too early to say that. So far we know what Rome has agreed to, that she accepts the territorial *status*

quo in the Mediterranean, and renounces all intention of favouring and harbouring Croat agitators.

And Jugoslavia? It is difficult to see what contribution she makes to the agreement, except the promise not to make war on Italy. Our Jugoslav friends are peace-loving, and a promise to respect their frontiers is enough to satisfy them.

As for ourselves, our relations with Belgrade are not affected by the new agreement. *Our friendship with the Jugoslavs is of too long standing, it was forged too firmly, to be at the mercy of any wind that blows.*

PRAGUE'S BLESSING

From the "Central European Observer," Prague (Official)

FEW agreements of international character have of recent years received such general approval as that concluded with surprising quickness between Jugoslavia and Italy. The satisfaction is not so much over the details of the political (which is accompanied by an economic) agreement, but over the fact that these two countries have by this act buried a hatchet which had maintained a more or less sharp edge for the past eighteen years, and that they have, at a time of grave uncertainty in European affairs generally, created an atmosphere in south-eastern Europe which can mean a great contribution to peace and consolidation throughout the Continent generally.

In these days when treaties lack much of the strict interpretation formerly accorded them one must, of course, not be too sanguine of results, but it may be taken for granted that both sides are sincere in their belief that the Belgrade treaties, while having no point against any other State, will bring about harmony on the shores of the Adriatic. By their agreement the two countries undertake to respect their common frontiers, and if either be the object of unprovoked attack to abstain from conduct calculated to benefit the aggressor: they affirm their will not to resort to war, but to solve by pacific means all differences and conflicts which may arise between them; they undertake not to tolerate in their respective territories activities directed against the territorial integrity or existing regime of the other; they agree to intensify and expand existing trade relations

and investigate the possibilities of closer economic collaboration; they agree that nothing in the Belgrade agreement should be considered as contrary to the public international obligations of the two countries.

HUNGARY DEMANDS REVISION

From " Pesti Hirlap," Budapest

Some time ago Hungary could, it seemed, count upon Signor Mussolini's support in her untiring demand for revision of the peace treaty which placed Hungarians under Czechoslovak and Jugoslav rule. Recently, however, the Duce has not mentioned Hungary's grievances; and now his agreement with Jugoslavia, under which present frontiers are to be respected, dashes Hungarian hopes still further. Nevertheless, she holds to her demands

A *RAPPROCHEMENT* between Hungary and the Little Entente is always a possibility. But before it could come about the Little Entente must accept Hungary's conditions, that is to say, the peace treaties, equality in armaments and Hungarian minorities must be discussed.

ADVANCE ON THE SOAP FRONT

The fact that the Soviet Union today uses 2.5 times as much soap as did tsarist Russia speaks more convincingly than many a thick volume of the great changes that have taken place in the country.

Consider, for example, the fact that far-off Turkmenia used eight times as much eau-de-cologne and almost four times as much tooth powder and paste in 1936 as in 1932, and you have an indication of what is going on in the Soviet portion of the so-called " changeless East." It takes very little imagination to connect this development with the increased crops of cotton, the rise of new oil fields, the founding of industries in this region which formerly suffered the fate of an exploited tsarist colony.—*Moscow Daily News.*

STRAIGHT FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH

To the Editor of the " Straits Times "

SIR—There are indications that Edward, Duke of Windsor, will be offered the throne of Austria and Hungary. He will accept it in the interest of European peace. Hitler will strongly favour it.

Yours etc.,

Kuala Lumpur (Malaya). SERENDIH.

CAESAR AND MR. BALDWIN

PERFECT HARMONY

From " Gazzetta del Popolo," Turin

WHEN Mr. Baldwin's government makes up its mind to pursue a resolute policy you may be sure that that policy will be scrupulously observed for at least a fortnight if the temperature is changeable, and for four to six weeks if the temperature is constant.

At the present moment, after two days of anti-fascist world-war (on paper), it looks as if London is getting back to the " Gentlemen's Agreement." And as the weather is now changeable we can count on a fortnight of Mediterranean *status quo.* Especially as Italy has just come to an understanding with Jugoslavia, and is about to do the same with Turkey.

Hence, *status quo* all along the line and in all waters—including Spanish waters.

Is it not a British interest to have Spain in Catalonia, Spain in the Balearics? It is our interest, too. When Franco (and Spain is Franco) is in Madrid and Barcelona, he will be in Majorca as well. What more can Britain want?

The English Press misunderstood what our London Ambassador said at the meeting of the Non-Intervention Committee. They took for a threat what was only a promise to England. " When Franco has won," said Grandi, " the Italian volunteers will of their own accord leave Spain just as they came there of their own accord." Then Spain will once more be Spanish from one end to the other, and even as far as the Balearics. And the *status quo* in the Western Mediterranean will once more be restored. In fact, everything will be as Britain desires it.

The Spanish policy of Italy and the Spanish policy of Great Britain are in perfect harmony.

The rôle of England in post-war Europe has been that of a neutral power, i.e. of an impartial administration. Her policy has been " non-intervention," i.e. she has intervened only as far as has been necessary to restore the *status quo*. Not the internal *status quo*, which does not interest England, but the maritime *status quo*, the only

one which affects her vital interests. And we Italians identify that *status quo* with the victory of Franco.

Mr. Baldwin's government felt itself compelled to diverge from that policy for two or three days, just long enough to console its Labour opposition with the perspective of a Fascist Waterloo. Now that they have had that consolation, now that Mussolini and Hitler have "abdicated" and "immortal principles" have prevailed—now Franco may win.

ITALY ON TOP
And France at the Heels of Britain

From "Cyrano," Paris (Right-wing, anti-English satirical weekly)

ENGLAND has decided to temporise with Italy. And France? Is it, or is it not, a fact that M. Viénot, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, is looking for war with Italy? Twice he has put France in a difficult position—first over Morocco, and recently over Italian intervention in Spain. The second occasion seemed so serious to the British Foreign Office that it did not hesitate to leave the Quai d'Orsay in the lurch over it.

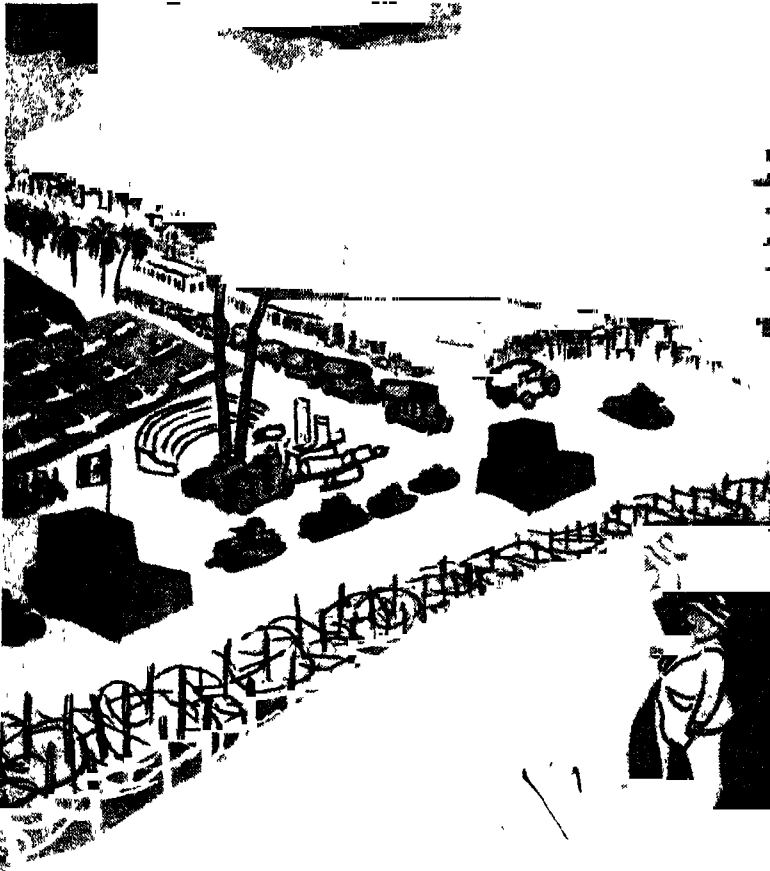
And now, whether you like it or not, Italy is mistress of the Mediterranean. The British Foreign Office turns a blind eye to the Italian troops already in Spain. It is not difficult to understand why the Rome government hastened to send battalions to Cadiz and the Balearics. It is not difficult to understand the arrogance of the Duce, imitating English arrogance. Rome is behaving in Burgos, and in Addis Ababa, in the same way as Perfidious Albion has for centuries behaved throughout the world. If the Duce has genius, it is in applying her own brutal methods to England.

Mistress of the British outlet in the Red Sea and so of the Suez Canal, Italy is now almost in command of Gibraltar and the Moroccan coast.

The truth is that Rome is playing her cards with all the energy and resource derived from having a single will. Fascist Italy wants to close the Straits of Gibraltar in order to protect her exploitation of Abyssinia. She is succeeding, thanks to the foolishness of the Moscow Reds. The aim of this exploitation is to obtain for Italy the raw

materials denied her at Versailles when she asked for colonies in the name of her common victory with France and England.

First of these raw materials is motor fuel. Italy, realising England's superiority in resources, wants to specialise in a war of skirmishes. And such warfare demands mechanised action. Has Abyssinia any oil? Italy, with Germany's aid, is looking for it. But the eager Duce does not want to wait for the results of uncertain research.

The climate of Abyssinia is favourable for planting sugar-cane. With sugar-cane alcohol can be made. By mixing alcohol you can make motor fuel. And with motor fuel there is the possibility, thanks to the climate and the size of Abyssinia, of arming thousands of planes

ITALY IN LIBYA

Englishman: "That's only a mirage, I suppose."

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

to carry on a pirate's war against the Home Fleet—the kind of war which made England what she is. The study of the cultivation of cane-sugar in Abyssinia was the Rome government's reply to Franco-British jeers.

When, on top of this, you bear in mind the copper which Germany is getting in Spanish Morocco, it is easy to realise the material extent of the German-Italian alliance. Motor fuel in Abyssinia, copper in Spain—here are the underlying reasons for all the apparently haphazard events which come as surprises to the world. It only remains for Berlin and Rome to solve the problem of artificial rubber. When this has been done, the two dictatorships will have solved the problem of raw materials.

Contemptible Little Army

Faced with this fertile material alliance, what can France and England do? By their ambiguous attitude to Italy and Germany as well as to communism, the Foreign Office and the Quai d'Orsay can only come to a dead end which will shatter their union. We won't speak of France. She is in the middle of a collectivist experiment which is an extra trump for Rome and Berlin. As for England, she will not be ready until at least 1940. Then she will dispose of a miserable army of 350,000 men and of 2,000 planes. Her fleet will be up to standard, but not suited to the type of warfare the Italians are preparing to wage in the Mediterranean. The Foreign Office is temporising in Spain, as it did in Ethiopia, because the Admiralty fears this new peril. France alone refuses to learn the lesson, and persists in a passionate campaign against Italy and Germany, with whom Britain never ceases to negotiate.

TEA IN BED FOR HIS MAJESTY'S HEROES

Here's something to startle the shades of the men who marched with Wellington, Marlborough and Kitchener: Corporal Arthur Preece has just been court-martialled in London for serving tea to his men as they lolled in their warm bunks. Tea in bed for His Majesty's gallant men, served by Corporal Preece at 2 cents a cup! It was cold in the barracks in the morning, said the corporal, and the men wanted a hot drink before they emerged from their blankets.

The general impression has wafted across the Atlantic that the mighty British Empire isn't what she used to be, and the report that the gallant members of the First Worcestershire Regiment have tea in bed is not going to blow it back.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch, U.S.A.*

BRIGHTER WORK AND LEISURE
Germany's Way

From " Deutsch-Französische Monatshefte (a journal promoting Franco-German friendship), Berlin

THE organisation of leisure . . . there is something paradoxical in the mere phrase which runs counter to our ideas of freedom. Leisure comes from *licet*, i.e., " it is permitted," and one is tempted to define it as the time when one can do as one pleases.

Yet we need only think for a moment of the abuses which might result from the absence of all guidance in the use of time left free by the progressive reduction of hours of work ; or of the manifold advantages accruing to the individual and to society from the wise employment of this ever-increasing fraction of life not spent in the task of earning a living.

Work is considered by most workers as a necessary evil. Rationalisation has increased the hostility of the worker to a task which does not even afford him the satisfaction of understanding the finished product.

So far, the only remedy for this hopeless conception of life offered by social economy is a reduction of working-hours and accident risks.

The task of today is to restore to labour its erstwhile beauty, to make it once more a source of happiness.

Viewed in this light, leisure is an indispensable complement of work ; the aim of leisure policy must be not only to restore energy exhausted in work, but also bring into play activities untouched by the daily round of toil.

This object can be attained in two ways :

(*a*) By giving the worker facilities for physical exercise which will bring into play muscles and organs not touched by his professional work ;

(*b*) By reawakening spiritual forces in men exhausted by mechanical toil.

In doing this, it is obvious that the value of the individual is enhanced. In the first place, his productive power is increased and thereby his economic value ; in the second place, his moral value is raised, as well

as the possibility of his intellectual collaboration in creative work. Finally, he receives such happiness as lies in the balance of forces and faculties, in the comprehension of a job well done and of his definite part in its completion.

In this way he is brought to realise that the employer is as interested as the employee. As a big Bavarian employer has explained, industrial social service ought not to be a contingency depending on certain economic factors, but a guiding principle of all human conduct.

* * *

The German contribution to the World Congress of Leisure at Hamburg this year was marked by an effort to improve conditions in

"STRENGTH THROUGH JOY"

A few of the seven million German workers who obtain nominal-price holidays through the Labour Front's *Kraft durch Freude* organisation.

work-centres. Under the promising title of "Beauty of Labour" the Labour Front has created an office, the aim of which is not only to improve factory hygiene and sanitary installations (we visited a jam-factory where all the personnel pass every morning under a shower-bath and put on washable garments before beginning work), but to urge the establishment in factories of rest-rooms, dining-rooms, libraries with good pictures on the walls, and windows looking on to grassy vistas. . . . Efforts are being made to beautify the places where work is actually carried on, by giving walls and machines gay colours, brightening windows with pretty curtains, and rooms with plants or cut flowers.

A second characteristic of the social movement which is giving a new rhythm to German life today is the spirit of collaboration between the members of what would once have been called the different classes of the population.

Already levelled by the double action of the financial crisis and of popular education, the German people seems nearly to have reached a social state which might be defined by the word fraternity.

It is not merely for the benefit of the foreign visitor that in offices or factories, in town or country, after the respectful greeting of the employee, we regularly saw his employer shake him by the hand. Even if only as an example, the gesture is significant of the stout manager who, when work is finished, joins his workers in the factory-yard, where all together, puny accountants as well as athletic labourers, take their spades and picks and dig out a swimming-pool where tomorrow they will disport themselves with the simplicity and goodwill of members of one family.

Inaugurating one of those splendid motor-roads which in a few years' time will cross Germany in every direction and will transform tourist conditions, Dr. Ley (head of the Labour Front) having inspected the workers who had built the road, assembled them all at a banquet set for 2,000.

There was only one kind of dish, only one speech. "Great tasks have never been completed except by comradeship; we know that nothing will be given us, that everything will have to be won by our own perseverance; but what we want we are sure to get, because we have faith."

A NEW WORLD A-GROWING
Writers in Soviet Russia Today

Extracts from the speech made by Alexei Tolstoi at the reception given in London in March by the Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R. Alexei Tolstoi is one of the foremost Soviet writers. One million copies of his " Peter the Great," which has also appeared in English, were published in Russia

A REPRESENTATIVE of our Foreign Trade Commissariat told me what devices he had to resort to in order to meet his obligations in the payment of notes which had become due in London for machinery and equipment, imported by the U.S.S.R. In search of money he came upon a brilliant idea : to send to London three car-loads of quail. All the available shot was immediately mobilised throughout the Soviet Union, and an agitational campaign started amongst the hunters of the Ukraine and North Caucasus ; the air resounded with shots. . . . Fat quail falling on the wheat fields of the Ukraine and Caucasus were saving the trading honour of the Soviet Republic.

That was in 1929 or 1930. At the present time we are producing gold in the Tundra of Siberia in such quantities that the " gold rush " days of California and the Klondike are overshadowed. The shops and factories projected in the great Five-Year Plan are completed, the necessary staffs of workers and engineers have been trained and distributed, and the Stakhanov Movement has given the lie to the pet prejudice which said that the " Slav soul " was only capable of dreaming. . . .The shops and factories are already working, and they are working at full speed. Ten years ago we saw near Moscow peasants wearing rags instead of shoes, and dressed in home-spun blouses ; they were scratching the soil with primitive wooden ploughs, the symbol of economic and social backwardness. Today the collective farms do their work with tractors and combines. The collective farms are building cinema theatres. They are buying aeroplanes and automobiles for their own needs. An ever growing army of peasant youth is filling the high schools and universities of the capitals, where they receive a higher education (not to speak of elementary and middle schools) free of charge.

You should see a village family during the school holidays when the children of the peasants have returned to their homes. At the head of the table sits grandfather, who remembers only too well the serfdom of old, and the whippings he got from the landowner. Next to him you will see the father of the family, who has lived through the shame and disgrace of the battle of Tsushima and the first revolution of 1905, which was drowned in blood by the Czar. And there, seated at the same table, is the mother of the family, who began to liquidate her illiteracy, as we call it, when she was already fifty years of age, and who is now the Chairman of the Village Soviet. Consciousness of power makes her speech laconic and categorical ; her husband is now afraid of her. Then there are the children, who have come home for the holidays. The son, a lieutenant in the Red Army ; the eldest daughter, who has graduated in political economy ; the second daughter, who is finishing her engineering course, while the youngest daughter is a Komsomolka (Young Communist) who drives a tractor on the Collective Farm.

Culture Among Workers

And here is another picture : the family of a worker seated round the table on a rest day. The old mother is a semi-literate ; she is busy with house work and looking after the children. And here is the father, a foreman in the factory. He loves music and is a keen reader : he is now building up a little library of his own, primarily of Russian and foreign classics. Of modern writers he likes Maxim Gorki best : towards the others he adopts an attitude of watchful expectancy. The two sons and two daughters of this family are all working in the same factory, and without leaving their work, they attend university courses. They don't miss a single *première* in the theatres, not a single Philharmonic concert. They all take part in sports of different kinds. The younger daughter has a passion for parachute jumping and is preparing an attack on the record for delayed jumps. They love contemporary literature, and all of them, with the exception of the eldest, at one time or another have attended Literary Circles. They are all impatient and their requirements are of a high standard. They write letters to authors asking them not too politely : " Have we got to wait much longer for the third volume of your trilogy ? " Or : " Why do you say so little about the modern Soviet girl ? You don't seem to know anything about her."

You will readily sympathise with the writer who is constantly bombarded with such questions, shot at him by fifty to sixty million readers in the Soviet Union.

Our new reader is unusually self confident, and surely that is not surprising when you consider that in ten years, thanks to the creative will and power of the whole people, our country has risen from the ruins and has become a mighty and rich land.

Those girls whom I mentioned and who write such letters to the authors know that our Red Army, our Air fleet and submarines are the most powerful in Europe and that no combination of aggressors can succeed in destroying socialism . . . they are calmly confident and, sure of the morrow, they are marching forward. The most difficult task, the building of the foundations of socialism, has been completed. They are now tackling the new task of acquiring and assimilating the new spiritual culture.

Our authors and writers have to deal with an exacting and culturally developed reader ... and what is more they have to deal with an *organised* reader. . . . Last summer a group of young readers, all of them workers, in one of our large shops on the Volga, asked me to attend their readers' conference where one of my novels was being discussed. I had no time and therefore had to refuse the invitation. And what do you think they did then ? These young readers sent a two-seater 'plane to fetch me. My wife and I flew to the conference and landed on a green field, where over 1,000 well dressed merry boys and girls met us.

Facing the Music

In the factory club where I read them a chapter from my new novel, a heated literary discussion started, and there arose before me many young readers well informed and well read in Soviet and world literature. And please do not think that they praised me too highly ; it is not the custom ; usually in such a discussion the defects and demerits rather than the merits of the authors are brought into prominence.

At the end of that evening six girls dressed in sports clothes brought in and handed me a gift made by themselves : a splendid little motor for a rowboat.

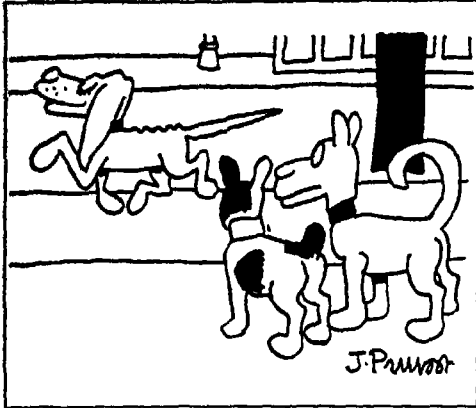
Such readers' conferences, literary circles, and the literary sections in the factory and shop newspapers serve as centres for the organisation and development of an army of fifty million Soviet readers.

The demands and requirements of these readers upon literature and our authors are of a very high standard. The dilettantism of the first period and the hurried sketchiness of the second period are out of place now. The contemporary reader wants a generalisation of all that has been passed through and lived through by our people ; he demands to be shown the hero of our times. The period of careless sketchiness and of dealing with huge masses alone has passed. We are now required to portray men as individuals ; we are required to create the new and real type of our times. This type already exists ; one meets him everywhere in Soviet life. The reader demands that he be confronted with a living moral example of the best Soviet man. The reader requires high emotions of the soul. Our reader is an optimist above all. I offer a thousand pounds to the one who will succeed in convincing our young Soviet reader that the world is not worth living in and that pessimism and hopelessness and misanthropy should be the content of art. . .

The transition from the second to the third period in Soviet literature was a very difficult one for our writers.

Building a New Life

It became necessary to finish once and for all with all dilettantism. And more than that ; we were confronted with the task of creating a positive and wholesome type in art. We had to break once and for all with the traditions of our great pre-revolutionary Russian literature which grew up and developed on the principle of opposition to everything that was. The formula of the art of that period was : " I think—therefore I negate." Our present formula is as follows : " I think—therefore I build life."

All this is only the beginning of Soviet art : all this is only its dawn. I am confident that the people who with their hands have created their happiness will also create an art of a very high order, an art that is as bright and joyous as sunshine, and as wide as our earth which can and must be used for the purpose of building on it a happy and joyful life for humanity.

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

THE "HAVE"

"Who's that swank?"

"He belongs to the President of the Sugar Conference."

"Nebelspalter," Switzerland.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Thanks to a wise quota policy, our supplies are all we want!

DEVALUATION

"Doctor, my little boy has just swallowed a franc piece!"

"And you have gone and bothered me for that! Why, it's hardly worth three sous!"

"La Dépêche de Toulouse"

PLAIN WORDS FROM UNCLE SAM

THE "HAVES" CRITICISED

From "Peace Action" (Journal of the National Council for Prevention of War) Washington, D.C.

THE announcement by the British Government on February 16 of a five-year arms program to cost $7,500,000,000 (£1,500,000,000) was obviously designed to overawe Germany, Italy and Japan, the three great "Have Nots," whose efforts by force of arms to better their economic and political situations have shaken and alarmed the world. Italy has responded promptly with the biggest military program of which it is capable. United States navalists seized the opportunity to talk of the desirability on general principles of matching the British Empire ship for ship. Japan prepares to resist our aggressive designs. Germany has yet to be heard from. Since Germany has already re-armed, not for war but to secure a place in the sun which British re-armament, if completed two or three years hence, would make impossible, one is left wondering if European statesmanship is not actually as bankrupt as it is charged with being.

The Versailles Treaty and the oppressive policies which it sanctified are now generally recognised as largely responsible for the present plight of Europe. British imperialists and French munition makers humiliated the German Republic until re-armament under Hitler seemed to the overwhelming majority of Germans the only way of recovering even their self-respect.

The year 1937 will be the "valley of decision" as between peace and war in Europe. A gigantic game of bluff is being enacted. Our Government is being daily invited to join the game. We are being called "immoral" for not volunteering to "defend democracy against fascism." Many of our own citizens are becoming worried by the charges. But we shall contribute most to a peaceful outcome of this European game by the most clear-cut "non-participation" legislation possible. For the British Empire and the United States to join in imposing an Anglo-Saxon "peace" upon the world in their own interest as the two greatest of the "Haves," would be really "immoral." Let the British Empire and the French Empire and the Dutch and Belgian and Portuguese Empires put their colonies and

mandates into the keeping of the League of Nations under the rule of the " Open Door " and with a genuine Mandate Commission supervising their administration as sacred trusts, and the disturbing demand of Germany for colonies would lose its point. British liberals join with us in recognising the justice of this solution.

DICTATORS OUT OF FAVOUR

by ERWIN D. CANHAM

From the " Christian Science Monitor," Boston

BEHIND the seemingly unimportant interchange of unpleasantries between Mayor La Guardia and the Nazi press recently, there were signs of distinct seriousness. It underlines the factual observation that American " moral " or emotional neutrality toward the present European situation is not far from the 1915 stage, by which is meant that predominant American sentiment supports the democracies in Europe, and finds much to mistrust in the totalitarian states.

And it is worth noting that Secretary of State Hull, like William Jennings Bryan before him, refused to be drawn into an un-neutral position. Yet he met with a barrage of internal criticism.

A well-known liberal writer in Washington met this correspondent a day or two ago and said : " Why on earth did Hull apologise to the Nazis ? " The answer was plainly that the Secretary of State surveyed the matter completely dispassionately. Had the Mayor of New York made slurring remarks about the British King, an apology in much the same terms would have been expected—had the British demanded it. One recalls—with a bow to British diplomacy—that when the Mayor of Chicago was " twisting the lion's tail " with traditional zeal a few years ago, the British behaved with their usual aplomb. They definitely did not protest. They recognised—because it was their own practice—that the Washington Administration had no authority whatever over local officials, and that " free speech " reigns in the United States. They knew the remedy was unconcern.

Now come more provocative dispatches from Berlin. First, the Nazi press—which only prints what the authorities allow it to print—indulges itself in several days of anti-American invective, some of which is unprintable in America. Next, the United States

protests. The Germans fail to take official note of the protest, and issue an unofficial communiqué which makes matters worse.

It is to be hoped that the incident goes no further. But it has already added fuel to the back log of American sentiment opposing Fascism. It makes American emotional neutrality just that much more difficult. It stands in the way of American support of a revisionist movement, which might have eased Germany's pressures.

The incident reveals how limited in scope the embargo law now on its way to enactment would be in face of an actual crisis. It illustrates the one factor which authors and publicists of the economic "road-to-war" school largely ignored. The present neutrality campaign sprang from the thesis, widely publicised two and three years ago, that American participation in the World War had come about because of commercial and financial ties with the Allies. There was undeniably a great measure of accuracy in the thesis.

But the documents did not reveal the emotional forces involved. They did not show how keenly and deeply the majority of Americans felt that democracy was being menaced after 1914. Some of this sentiment was induced; much of it was spontaneous. Two words of personal reminiscence may illustrate this point. In 1914-15, I was employed—outside of grammar-school hours—in a little weekly newspaper office in Maine. It was, goodness knows, the most obscure of all possible newspapers. Yet into that office poured a steady stream of war propaganda. I recall sitting on a high stool in front of the table on which I used to fold the entire newspaper issue (inside four pages on Wednesday, outsides on Thursday) and reading the story of "Ned Nesbit, the American Boy Aviator," who—as early as 1914-15—was having the most thrilling experiences escaping from German prison camps, rescuing beautiful Belgian maidens, and so on. That office must have received twenty columns a week of prepared matrices or even boiler-plate of pro-ally war propaganda.

The natural American reaction is revealed by the fact that we were prone to print this material, and I do not recall anyone suggesting that we were not doing a patriotic service by so doing.

Well, that was 1914-15. The same raw materials for violent un-neutrality are in the makings today—in Washington, in New York, in Berlin and elsewhere. It is up to alert Americans to make certain whether they want to go where this tide may take them.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs. Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible

SHOPPING IN RUSSIA

SIR,—I enjoyed Mr Austin's commentary on my article published in your February issue.

It is curious that he should think it a matter for congratulation that the Soviet Government, after twenty years of dictatorial rule over a country which is the richest in the world in natural resources, has actually succeeded in producing a well-stocked shop. Incidentally I did not see it, in either Leningrad or Moscow.

It is true, as Mr Austin says, that after innumerable delays, much foreign assistance and vast expense the Government has produced a thirteen-station Metro on which the trains run at half the pace and twice the price of our London tubes.

I would also like to point out that I did not compare the rouble with the shilling. I carefully took the average income from a day's labour both here and in Russia and used their purchasing power in terms of commodities as a basis of comparison I did not attempt to hide certain advantages which the industrial workers enjoy—in fact, I emphasised them.

Mr. Austin points out that in Russia the proportion between the highest and the lowest income is 15 to 1. If this diversity of income has already been achieved, perhaps it is interesting to speculate what the proportion will be in a few years' time.

After twenty years of government organised by the workers for the workers the Soviet system has only succeeded in producing a standard of life far below practically every capitalist country, and infinitely lower than that prevailing in the neighbouring countries on her Western frontiers.

Yours truly,

V. A. CAZALET.

*London, S.W.*1.

GIVE BACK COLONIES

The following letter was sent to Mr. W. H. Dawson after his article in our March issue.

SIR,—*Re* your article in WORLD REVIEW, may I say you are one of the few people who see the return of Germany's colonies in the right and honest way, the way also which will be a vital contribution to world peace.

How wonderful it would be if only we could live these years of our lives without the threat of war hanging over our heads. But it seems that our politicians use their own personal likes and dislikes for the favoured few countries The pity of it is our men who are innocent of any quarrel or political mischief will be the poor devils who will have to pay with their lives. It is all too wicked for words! Their fathers today are buried in foreign lands. They fought to end wars for their children.

Do not our politicians realise it is better to be a little unselfish and give back to Germany her colonies, than kill off our men again? To weaken or even finish the white race so much so, that only the yellow race will be strong enough to take charge of the world. Many of our friends were very happy and pleased with your article, and firmly

believe that your opinion is the only real way to peace and a contented and satisfied Germany.

Yours truly,

K. E. Town, C. Schofield, H. Mills, G. Schofield, C Davis.

Liverpool.

COMINTERN AND SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Sir,—In your editorial for March you say " Stalin seems as determined as any Nazi could be to destroy the Comintern." For some time I have observed a disposition amongst Liberal-democratic writers to see a division between the Soviet Government and the Comintern, a disposition at times seen also in certain Socialist groups.

The opinion appears to have grown contemporaneously with three events: the entry of Russia into the League of Nations, the signing of the Franco-Soviet Pact, and the formation of the united front in France. In each case, it has been said that the Comintern has been obliged to determine its tactics according to the needs and wishes of the Soviet Government

I can understand that certain elements within the Comintern may have been disposed to regard these tactics as opportunist compromises with capitalist elements. However, I am not aware of any leading personality in the Comintern having taken this view, which is, after all, a Trotskyist, and not a Comintern, approach

On the contrary, the tactics involving relationships with capitalist States and with non-Communist political parties, have strengthened the power of the Comintern enormously, as is shown by the much greater importance of the Communist Party of France. The Agreement between Germany and Japan also as surely reveals the growing strength of the parties that form the Comintern.

And now it is suggested to us that the possibility of a " German-Russian alliance " can be regarded as a new blow for the Comintern at the hands of the Soviet Government. I know of no evidence that either the Soviet Government or the Comintern has been opposed to this at any time since Russia entered the League. Both have made much of the fact that Germany declined to come into the framework of the Franco-Soviet Pact. Both subscribe to the formula that peace is indivisible. What can a " German-Russian alliance " mean if it does not virtually bring Germany within the framework both of the Franco-Soviet Pact and of the League scheme of collective security ?

The economic policy of Nazi Germany is so tied to re-armament and all that re-armament implies, that a successful outcome for the programme of collective security cannot be other than highly favourable both to the Soviet Government and to the Comintern Robbed of opportunities to utilise its vast industrial equipment in acts of aggression, how long could the German economy keep itself alive ?

We shall be told that the Soviet Government, after having become Conservative, has now become Nazi ! A new attempt to divide the Soviet Government and the Comintern will be made. The object is solely to cause non-Communist democrats to question the solidarity of the Communist organisations, and so weaken the Popular Front This is the object of German foreign policy.

If non-Communist democrats accept the view of a division between the Soviet Government and the Comintern, this will signify the strength of Fascism.

Bristol. J. E. Blundell.

WORLD REVIEW COMPETITION

Result of Competition No. 3

Our request for imaginary comments from *The Times*, German, Russian or Italian papers on the announcement that Britain had annexed the ionosphere, 40 miles above the earth, brought forth few but good results, showing a nice idea of national leader-writing styles.

Mr. M. F. Gantly, who carries off the first prize, deserves more, as he spread himself on extracts from all three foreign countries, and showed enviable knowledge of what the ionosphere really is.

First Prize

" PRAVDA "

Once upon a time Britain called herself Mistress of the Seas. The Freedom of the Seas was a sore point in world politics.

It now appears Britain is growing air-minded and is trying to get in on the ground floor of the Stratosphere as a first step to calling herself Mistress of the Air. According to the London Press she is taking possession of the Ionosphere, a layer of frozen hydrogen about forty miles above the earth.

British cartographers when preparing maps of the earth are accustomed to show the British Empire in a certain colour, and affix the legend " British Possessions are coloured Red." Rumour has it that Sir Oswald Mosley wishes to turn this Black. We look forward to the map-makers colouring in the third dimension. Meanwhile we are preparing a Popular Front representation in the Ionosphere, and although we have long ago discarded the childish catchcries of Liberty, Equality, etc. (we never believed in them but they served their purpose in getting us into power), our watchword will be " Ions of the Ionosphere Unite."

" BERLINER TAGEBLATT "

Eighty years ago Henrich Rudolf Hertz, the German scientist to whom wireless owes its existence, was born in Hamburg. That his discoveries were commercialised by the offspring of a Latin-Irish marriage, backed by the cupidity of a Jew, is but another example of how Nordic genius has been turned to materialistic ends by races of lesser culture.

The ungentlemanly way in which Britain interfered with German wireless communication during the World War is well known. Even diplomatic messages to our Ambassadors in Spain, Mexico, and elsewhere were not treated with the respect they deserved. The unspeakable " Blinker " Hall, Chief of the British Naval Intelligence, sank so low as to pilfer from the ether our wireless secrets. Britain is now preparing a further outrage.

We do not, as a rule, place much credence in the London *Times*. However, more reliable British newspapers corroborate the statement that Britain now proposes to annex the Ionosphere.

We presume Britain already has obtained a mandate from her puppet League of Nations, and expect she will justify her action by claiming she is taking over the Ionosphere in the interests of the free electrons existing there, just as Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P., in World Review tells us that Britain's chief reason for retaining German colonies is the welfare of the native inhabitants therein.

M. F. Gantly.

Second Prize

" THE TIMES "

We can readily imagine the London citizen of the future, ascending to the ionosphere in his autogiro on Friday,

maintaining the necessary relative velocity to counteract the friction caused by the earth's rotation and descending on Monday, after a week-end, ideal for quiet and repose

Unfriendly critics of the British Empire will doubtless say: "The British Empire's in their Heavens, all's right with the world."

We can well bear any such ironical comment, at such an auspicious time; and, eventually, confound our critics as in times past.

F. Young.

COMPETITION NO. 5

It has recently been decided by the British Government that the Leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, whose official title is "Leader of His Majesty's Opposition," shall be paid a salary of £2,000 a year by the nation in the same way as Cabinet Ministers, in view of the demands made on his time by his position. This has proved rather baffling at first to the leaders of totalitarian States, but we will assume that the time has arrived when they have grasped its purpose, and decided to do likewise. We offer a first prize of one guinea, and a second prize of any book costing up to half-a-guinea among those noticed in WORLD REVIEW recently, for the best letter (not over 150 words) to be written by General Goering to Thaelmann (in prison) or by Stalin to Trotsky (in exile), making an announcement of a similar decision. Entries must be received by June 5.

PROGRESS

The world is getting better. The people sent to gaol are of a much higher class than formerly.—*Wall Street Journal*, N.Y.

NTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

ASIA IN PERSPECTIVE

'HE STRUGGLE FOR THE PACIFIC. By Gregory Bienstock. *Allen & Unwin.* 12*s* 6*d*.

Reviewed by SIR FREDERICK WHYTE

'HE seven pages of the epilogue hold ıe essence of this ınteresting book. Not ıat the reader wıll appreciate Mr. ıenstock's purpose, or even wholly nderstand the epilogue itself, without ·ading the rest of the book ; but he ıould begin wıth the last seven pages, ıd then turn back to the begınnıng. /hen he has done so, he wıll see the lations of Europe and Asia and the ·oblems of the Far East in their hıstoric ttıng, and he will know that what the ıpanese describe as their " crisis " is ıt one scene ın a long drama in which ıe princıpal actors play consistent parts.

Mr Bienstock ıs both historıan and ıntemporary observer. In both func- ɔns he works wıth a competent and ber touch. Even when he leaves the ımparatıvely safe ground of history to terpret the problems of today, he is ıgularly free from bias, so that whether : ıs describing the Asiatic responsi- lities of the Brıtish Empire, or estimat- g the relative power of Japan and ussia, his judgments are those of a ɛll-balanced mind. At the outset he ys that this peninsula of Asia which we ll Europe has always been prone to aggerate its own importance and thus forget the extent to which its fate has been linked with, not to say governed by, that of Asia He quotes (or rather, slightly misquotes) Theodore Roosevelt's famous epigram on the Mediterranean, Atlantic and Pacıfic eras in history and declares that, while the continental European may regard Germany as the " central political entity," the really signıficant units from the world poınt of view are the Soviet Union and the Brıtish Empire. " These two are particularly concerned to maintain a balance of power in Europe based on a balance of power in Asia "

Now, the critical reader may prefer to put this matter the other way round, and say that the freedom of Russia and Brıtain to pursue their policıes in Asia depends on a European equılıbrium in which neither is too deeply engaged. Be that as it may, Mr. Bıenstock's contrıbution to the relation of Europe and Asıa and hıs partıcular examination of that relation ın the Far East suffer lıttle by that crıticism. He sees the Far East as a problem of five parts, a pentagon of Japan — Russia — China — Brıtaın — America. He denies that among these five, or between any two of them, there are ınevitable hostility or inevitable frıendshıp Other wrıters have seen this and said it before ; but few, if any, have so clearly put these five in their historic setting as Mr. Bıenstock has done. And when he comes to examine the mutually hostile policies of Japan and Russia he concludes that war

between them is not inevitable, that it is actually less likely today than it was four years ago, and that even if war should break out it would probably be inconclusive. There is no part of this well-constructed and timely book which will more reward the reader than Mr. Bienstock's careful estimate of the relative power of Russia and Japan, both in peace and war. And since it stands in the setting of a true historian's view of the whole Pacific problem, the reader will likely conclude that, in this book, he has something of permanent value.

THE PARADOX OF CANADA

CANADA. By André Siegfried. *Jonathan Cape.* 10*s* 6*d.*

Reviewed by A. C. CUMMINGS

ONLY a Frenchman with an acid-keen mind like that of M. André Siegfried, could analyse so acutely the geographical, economic and political paradox that is Canada.

Englishmen evade the essential contradictions of the oldest Dominion, or blur them in a mist of Imperialist sentiment. Americans find such puzzles as royalist patriotism infused with familiar republican democracy too much of a conundrum. And Canadians, necessarily regional in outlook in a country as wide as the Atlantic, rarely see themselves in a world frame-of-reference which alone can establish their true position.

For M. Siegfried, Canada is primarily " American "—with her biggest windows opening on the British Isles and the United States and her smaller glimpsing France and the Orient She is divided by geography—the infertile richly-mineralised 2,800,000 square miles of the " Laurentian Shield " keep East and West economically antagonistic and make it still more difficult for her to turn her trade-streams from their natural watersheds north and south. Her business life is powerfully deflected by the pull of 120,000,000 highly-industrialised Americans, yet she turns with enthusiasm to her vast unpeopled Northland, sure that some day its riches will rival those of Siberia now appearing so lavish beneath Soviet exploitation. She is French in the East, United Empire Loyalist in Ontario, American-mixed in the Middle West and predominatingly British in British Columbia. Race, religion and language both divide and unite her people.

Politically her roots are in the United Kingdom, and at Ottawa reigns a king's viceroy, symbol of royalty which the rest of the Americas contemn and ignore. Like Belgium, Canada is " a precarious creation," yet as M Siegfried soundly concludes, " she may carry on almost inevitably " This is, indeed, all but certain now, for since the Great War, Canada has developed a personality of her own, a Canadianism which in no circumstances will she relinquish.

Subtle and penetrating are M. Siegfried's observations on the Dominion's relations with foreign countries. In foreign policy he finds her instinctive reactions those of the United States, but he admits that, at certain times, decisions in foreign events have been taken " less in London and from the English point of view than in Canada from the American point of view." British diplomacy's aim appears to him to be that of avoiding, at all costs, ever placing Canada in the delicate position of having to choose between the United States and the United Kingdom. Canada, therefore, as an intermediary, helps to hold back Britain from too great absorption in Europe ; and Britain in turns keeps Canada from gravitating into the orbit of the United States.

In his brilliant, intense and provocative survey, M. Siegfried perhaps fails only in one point. He insufficiently emphasises Canada's idealism in support of the League of Nations and of collective security. Geneva raised fervent hopes in Canada of peace and security for the world. These hopes have been darkened by the failure of the nations, including Britain, to save Ethiopia and to cope with dictatorships which so essentially democratic a country instinctively hates.

Canada has yet to recover from the bitterness of that disappointment.

AN OBSERVER OF MEN

WHIRLPOOLS ON THE DANUBE. By Christopher Sidgwick. *Hutchinson.* 18*s.* Illustrated

Reviewed by CICELY HAMILTON

LET none be deterred by his opening chapter from following Christopher Sidgwick through Europe ; his first few pages are distinctly below the level of his book and give no idea of its quality—it is only when England is left well behind him that Mr Sidgwick reveals himself in his character of shrewd observer. The matter of *Whirlpools on the Danube* is often more weighty than its manner ; in part it is a record of personal journeying, mishap and enjoyment, in part, and more importantly, a survey of a much-troubled region. Its author's comments on men and conditions are interesting for more than their variety ; he has not looked on his human material through a veil of partisanism. That is to say, he sees men as men, not as clay to be moulded into systems or pegs to be fitted into certain political holes ; a capacity frequently lacking in the modern student of matters international, especially when the student belongs to the younger generation. Because his own faith is not pledged to a system, Mr. Sidgwick's approach to his subjects is open-minded and good-natured ; hence, though he may be stirred to disapproval, he is never stirred to partisan hatred. "I never liked the Czechs," he tells you frankly ; but the fact that their national character does not appeal to him has not prevented him from awarding them marks for their virtues.

It is not necessary to agree with all Mr. Sidgwick's deductions and conclusions to appreciate his readiness to look a fact in the face. As an example of that readiness, take one of his comments on Germany. "To anyone who is interested in people, in the mass or singly, being in Nazi Germany just now is a wracking business. It is impossible to look round the place without having your feelings torn constantly between deep admiration and the reddest loathing. At one moment it looks like the terrific re-birth of a great nation (which it is) and the next, when someone has proved a rumour to you, you turn sick . ." The same faculty for balanced judgment gives a real value to his survey of the problems and racial divisions of the Danube peoples—Czechs, Slovaks and Slovenes, German minorities, Hungarians, Transylvanians, Roumanians ; and his remarks on the inevitability of minorities have the merit of sound common sense. It is impossible to carve up Europe on racial lines ; minorities must exist—and the only real question is their treatment.

The present reviewer has no claim to speak with authority on all those regions of Eastern Europe whereof Mr. Sidgwick has treated in *Whirlpools on the Danube ;* but having checked his statements concerning those regions whereof she has some knowledge, and found them trustworthy, she accepts him without hesitation as a reliable guide elsewhere.

THE BETTER SIDE

I SPEAK OF GERMANY. By Norman Hillson. *Routledge.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by J. ANDERSON

ALTHOUGH the Hitler government has been in power for four years, and there is extreme interest here in everything German, this is, as far as I know, the first English book to be published which gives a detailed picture of some of the better aims and achievements of the Nazis at home. Simply in the interests of truth and fairness, therefore, Mr. Hillson's book must be welcomed, whatever one thinks of the conclusions he draws

One of the commonest misrepresentations, which Mr Hillson does much to dispose of, is that, with the abolition of the old trade unions, the German working man became a slave nursing a secret hatred for his Nazi masters.

We learn in this book some of the ideals and achievements of the Labour Front which superseded the trade unions —and the ideals are even more important and less known than the achievements There are some things too simple for intellectuals and Marxian economists to comprehend—and one of them is that a man naturally likes work for the work's sake, particularly if he happens to be a German. It was to him an unnatural doctrine which the Socialists inculcated, when they placed wages in the first place, and the work second, and preached " wage slavery " and class hatred. The Nazis did not merely do away at one stroke with the old organisations. They substituted both a doctrine and an organisation which accords far better with the instincts of the German. " The dignity of labour " and the true happiness it brings was preached up and down the country by the Labour Front's creator, Dr. Robert Ley. The working man was told, not that he was a down-trodden wretch, but a man who could take an open pride in himself and his work, who was one in a great family all co-operating for the welfare of their country. " Ballyhoo," says the average Englishman : but he is wrong. Far from being the biggest production of eyewash the world has seen, the Labour Front doctrine has been turned into practice with proverbial German thoroughness, and has met with a response in increased happiness that proves its fundamental psychological truth. It would be a mistake to think that it is only the employee on whom Nazi demands of sacrifice and co-operation have been made The employers have had their share, and exploitation of the workers is as much a crime against the community

as a strike. Works Councils, to which members are elected, and the local Trustee of Labour, arbitrate on disputes, by no means always in the employer's favour. Much of what has been accomplished in a practical way for the workman is described by Mr. Hillson, including some amenities for which democratic England is still fighting It is perhaps one of the best guarantees of peace that the Nazis have immense plans for internal social improvements which they confess will take many years to achieve.

It is a pity that the writer should not have had his proofs read by someone who could correct his German. When not even *Bahnhof* or Heidelberg appear correctly spelt, one gets a damaging impression of inaccuracy.

Much of Mr. Hillson's book is devoted to the criminal follies of Versailles, and to the mean and stupid behaviour of the French, then and afterwards, which he, as a newspaper correspondent, was at hand to observe. Here his weakness is that he overlooks the fact that, whereas the Great War was indeed an unmitigated tragedy for us and the French, it did in fact bring national existence to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Jugo-Slavia. If only the countries could have restricted themselves to taking what belonged to them, and had not created new minority grievances, post-War Europe might in some respects have been called an improvement on pre-War. Mr Hillson pleads for Britain to abandon the fateful attachment to France and her allies, and to line up with Germany—a Germany who will never rest content until all territory inhabited by German populations is united under the swastika. With isolation a myth, and the door to peaceful revision by the League banged, the alternative is a war to preserve the *status quo* of Versailles. What a choice!

SHORTER NOTICES

THE LAND OF WALES. By Eiluned and Peter Lewis. *Illus. Batsford. 7s. 6d.*

The latest addition to the Batsford "British Heritage" series is as good as we expect a Batsford book to be, and one which really does justice to Wales. It is worth getting for its photographs alone, of which there are more than a hundred, very carefully chosen and beautifully reproduced. The text is written by a Welsh brother and sister who know and love their country well without being blind to the many evils which darken its life. It is historical rather than descriptive, and deals with such different aspects of Welsh life as religion, sport and industrialism. There is a happy characterisation of the not-so-sporting Welshman, so unlike his "may-the-best-side-win" English brother:

> "The Welshman has his own notions about sport like everyone and everything else; he likes it rough. . . . He is primitive in his delight, combining a jovial good humour towards his companions with a savage satisfaction at the discomfiture of his enemies. Not so fair as the Saxon, he wants above all things victory for his friends."

In the next few years Welsh affairs seem destined to play a larger part in the life of the London administration than they have since Disestablishment days. If bitterness is not to be engendered, there will have to be more understanding of the Welsh character than has been shown in the past. This book will help a lot towards that right understanding.

WAR IN SPAIN. By F. White. *Longmans. 1s 6d*

This is an excellent short, concise, and impartial history of the Civil War in Spain to date, including the course of the non-intervention negotiations and agreements. It is the product of study by a trained and balanced mind of thousands of documents, articles, books and speeches, and can be strongly recommended.

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

SWEDEN

It is one of the advantages of Sweden that it is rather off the beaten tourist-track, and is not one of the countries travellers pass through on the way to somewhere else, except, perhaps, Russia Yet it has everything which makes it into an ideal holiday centre, and gradually this is being realised

It is not, as is often supposed, a cold country, and it would be difficult to find a cleaner, or one where the food is more excellent and lavish. The language need not trouble you, as plenty of English is spoken The exchange is favourable, and living not expensive. Nor is it inaccessible Every Wednesday, Friday and Saturday in summer a liner leaves Tilbury for Gothenburg. It takes 34 hours, and the return fare is in some cases as low as £8 10s. If you do not care for sea-journeys, Sweden may be reached in a rather longer time by the Continent, *via* Hamburg and the Sassnitz-Tralleborg train-ferry. Or you can travel by air. The journey from Croydon to Malmo takes only 7 hours and costs £13 single. From Gothenburg it is possible to reach Stockholm in 6 hours by express electric train. But unless you are in a hurry it is better to take the leisurely but beautiful three-day passage along the Gota Canal.

The Gota Canal deserves a paragraph to itself. You start off along a river. An old castle drifts into sight, perched romantically on a high hill. The great waterfalls of Trollhatten thunder down, close to the little boat. Then you pass for a while into a canal, but so clean, tree-lined and beautiful that you feel it needs a new name. And then, after you have had a perfect meal in the salon and admired your comfortable little bedroom, the narrow waterway widens, the banks slide away until one is quite out of sight Big boats appear. You are steaming across Sweden's largest lake.

And so you go on. By the time you have slept, the lake has been crossed and the steamer has buried itself in a forest! So narrow is the canal that the branches actually brush the deck. Quaint, red farmhouses peer through the trees. Costumed children watch gravely from the bank, and when the steamer rests in a lock, offer you baskets of cherries, apples, pears and peaches. One afternoon the boat moors in the moat of the old Renaissance castle of Vadstena. The next morning the wonderful tang of sea air greets you on the deck ; the steamer is passing across the fringe of a pine-clad archipelago. And eventually, you hear the engine stop, the boat bumps gently against a quay, and you are there, in the midst of Stockholm, looking up at the tall wine-red brick tower of the wonderful Town Hall.

That city of islands and bridges, wide streets and narrow lanes, old churches and skyscrapers, of sculpture and architecture is the pride of the north and the enduring delight of visitors.

When you have spent all the time you can spare for Stockholm you can take another voyage, down the magnificent miles of Stockholm's Archipelago and then, during the night, across the Baltic

In the morning, you wake to find yourself in the harbour of a mediaeval city—Visby, capital of the island of Gothland, the ancient walled Hansa town. Visby has not wakened since it was put to sleep in 1361 by the sack of the Danes. It has not changed much. The two miles of battlemented walls and towers still surround the town Eleven ruined churches still stand. Cobbled streets still wind unevenly under mediaeval houses. And yet, not far away, there is a hotel where you may enjoy modern luxury, and there is a sandy, sunny bathing beach, a wonderful café, a superb dancing floor

Another boat, another night, and you are in historic Kalmar, with its mighty, moated, many-towered castle frowningly reflected in the water. From Kalmar, you can go by road or rail through the sunny southern province of Skania , speckled with ancient castles, its sea-coast rimmed with towns and villages, gay and quiet, where you may bathe, fish, sail, golf or ride or merely take a sun bath on the sand. Another suggestion is an island holiday, say on the island of Marstrand, not very far from Gothenburg. You take a small steamer there and, leaving the harbour, turn north and creep along the coast. The steamer does not go in a straight line but continually twists, turns and doubles upon its own tracks as it passes through the skerries. These " skerries " are one of the sights of Sweden. They are little islands, rocky islets, most of them, which litter the coast for miles All are beautiful—some carved by the sea into weird rocky shapes ; mostly uninhabited, but some covered with a cluster of pines ; and wedged into a sheltered corner you come across a cluster of fishermen's houses, not at all unlike our tiny Cornish villages.

A ROUND-THE-WORLD CRUISE TO NOTE

We would draw our readers' special attention to the Round-the-World Cruise which the Workers' Travel Association have organised, as this offers unusual attractions.

The Cruise, which starts in October, will take four months, visiting, *inter alia*, the United States, Honolulu, Japan, China, Malaya and India, and costs only £185, absolutely inclusive, even

of tips. Twenty-two ports will be visited, and there will be shore excursions at nineteen of them The liner will be the 14,127-ton " President Wilson," and the organisers, who have run a similar cruise for the past two years, claim that the low price has been achieved without any sacrifice of comfort.

TRAVEL IN FINLAND

THE Finnish Travel Bureau's handbook for 1937 is now published, giving routes to Finland direct and via Sweden. It contains details of a large variety of tours of various lengths, including one by private motor car, that takes visitors right up to the Russian border.

The tours are not conducted, but guides meet travellers at fixed places.

This beautiful, unique little Northern country of sixty thousand lakes, and vast forests, is one to know. Incidentally, it is also extraordinarily cheap.

BOUILLABAISSE

What do they put in Bouillabaisse ?
  I often ask, but no one knows,
Or, if they do, decline to face
  An inventory of rows and rows
Of items difficult to trace,
  Comprising " toutes espèces de choses "—
Eels, mussels, lobsters, shrimps, crabs, plaice,
  Flotsam and jetsam the tide throws,
Seaweed like ribbons or like lace ;
  Sponges and squids, and lots of those
Mixed barnacles For want of space
  Our grisly catalogue must close ;
Ingredients of its disgrace
  We could quadruple if we chose.
What DO they put in Bouillabaisse ?
  One eats it, and one never knows
  (Possibly a post-mortem shows.)

PEGASUS.

Sydney Morning Herald.

RUMOURS, PANICS AND HOPES

by "RAPIER"

NOTHING could better illustrate the interdependence of world markets than the catastrophic effect of rumours emanating from Washington that some deflationary measures were contemplated to check the boom in commodities and stock markets. The particular rumour that President Roosevelt was considering lowering the United States Treasury's buying price of gold appears to have had no foundation in fact. But coming as it did at a time when the Washington Administration had been "thinking aloud" on measures to check the flow of "hot money" to Wall Street, and when the flow of gold to America was becoming an ever-increasing embarrassment, it received credence which would have been lacking in a less electric atmosphere Moreover, the hectic speculation in commodities, especially non-ferrous metals, which followed the announcement of Britain's colossal rearmament proposals, had made markets vulnerable. Speculators are ever sensitive to rumours both bullish and bearish if these rumours have any appearance of coming from an authoritative source, and like the Gadarene swine they are ready to follow any leader even to the verge of a precipice.

Gold mining shares were obviously the most likely to suffer from any tampering with the price of gold, and it was some days before confidence was restored. Taking longer views, however, it seems doubtful how long the world will be willing to absorb the great quantities of gold now being produced and buried again in the vaults of central banks. Particularly is this dubious in view of the decline in population which is becoming a menacing factor in the economy of European nations, especially, and which if it is not checked must lead to fundamental economic adjustments. But for the moment, except for rising costs in gold production, it appears that stable dividends may be expected on sound producing gold-mining companies

The effect on the over-bought commodity markets was likewise highly disturbing. Speculators argued that a lowering of the American gold price was a deflationary measure that would lead to a general trade setback all over the world and started to liquidate their holdings When the first scare began to diminish and confidence to return there was a renewal of consumer buying, but it is unlikely, and it may be hoped improbable, that prices of these commodities will quickly return to the inflated levels obtaining before the scare.

On the other hand it must not be forgotten that the underlying situation remains the same as before this slump. Inflationary forces are at work and unless some drastic action is really taken on the lines attributed to President Roosevelt, prices will no doubt creep up again. President Roosevelt has achieved a salutary shakeout of speculators, but no more. Labour victories in America mean higher wages and

shorter hours with their concomitant of rising costs and rising prices. Britain's rearmament plan proceeds unchecked, and British monetary policy, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, remains unchanged. The banks and stock exchange have done something to check speculation in London, but productive demand continues and must continue at a high level until the housing boom and the rearmament boom are completed. America's problem of the inflow of unwanted gold continues and has recently been augmented by shipments of Russian gold amounting to between thirty-five and forty million pounds The Russians apparently think it politic in case of war to have some of their currency reserves in foreign exchange rather than gold and are building these up by selling gold for dollars which can at any time be converted into any other currency.

The only country to benefit directly from the rumours of a lower American gold price was France The French took the opportunity of the scare to allow the franc to slide to a more comfortable level in the foreign exchange market. They would no doubt have liked to do this when they issued their recent loans, but found it difficult to take the plunge When the blame could be put on America they took the opportunity and will now, presumably, peg the franc around 109/10 to the £.

What will America do? The American gold buying price of $35 an ounce is the linchpin of the tripartite monetary agreement and cannot be altered without consulting Britain and France. Britain at any rate is not ready to stabilise *de jure* and fix a definite buying price for gold, though France would be if the other countries would agree to do the same.

In the meantime America is left to carry the main burden on the partial stabilisation so far attained. How long will she be willing to do so?

The real remedy for the present maladjustments would be to stabilise the chief currencies on gold, to resume foreign lending on a large scale, and to lower tariff barriers. But this consummation seems still to be a long way off. It had been hoped that the presence in London of so many important personalities at the Sugar Conference, the visits to London of Scandinavian statesmen, and the invitation by Britain and France to M. van Zeeland to undertake a study of the means to free trade from its present barriers, all pointed to some concerted move by the leading Powers towards freer trade. But unfortunately there appears to be no truth in the rumours that these events constitute a concerted policy. They are merely coincidences The most that can be said is that world statesmen at least recognise the problem and are discussing it But there is no definite plan afoot to implement these rather vague stirrings of reluctant minds America awaits a lead from Britain and Britain from America But beyond negotiations for more bi-lateral trade treaties the imagination of statesmen seems to boggle.

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENT

SPAIN

March 21. Italian forces in retreat on Guadalajara

April 1. Rebels begin new offensive against Basque front.

„ 11. British Cabinet met (on a Sunday) and decided that Britain would not tolerate interference with her shipping by insurgents outside territorial waters, but ships entering the 3-mile limit did so at their own risk

ITALY

March 13. Mussolini hailed in Libya as "Protector of the Islamic race and religion"

„ 23. Mussolini condemned the "hysteria of Anglican pulpits" (a reference to criticism of Italian massacre in Addis Ababa after the attempt on the life of Marshal Graziani)

„ 26 Political and economic agreements between Italy and Jugoslavia signed in Belgrade (see Page 38).

BELGIUM

March 22. Arrival of King Leopold in London Aim to obtain from Great Powers of Europe release from reciprocal obligations, which were exchanged for guarantee of Belgian neutrality under Locarno

April 6 Anglo-French request to M van Zeeland, the Prime Minister, to undertake an international inquiry into the possibilities of reducing the international trade barriers

„ 11. M van Zeeland, Prime Minister, obtained sweeping victory over M Degrelle, leader of Fascist Rex Party, in Brussels election

LITTLE ENTENTE

April 1 Permanent Council of Little Entente met in Belgrade Solidarity of Entente affirmed, Jugo-Slav-Italian Pact approved. Risks of war pronounced lessened

„ 5. Arrival of President Benes, President of Czechoslovakia in Belgrade marked by anti-Italian demonstrations

FRANCE

March 16. Rioting in the Clichy district of Paris between members of the French Social Party (formerly Croix de Feu) and Left demonstrators resulted in five deaths when police fired

„ 18. Half-day general strike in Paris as protest against Clichy deaths

April 5 Decision to send Colonel de la Rocque and other leaders of his party for trial for illegal political activities.

GREAT BRITAIN

March 15. Arrival in London of Hr. Sa Swedish Minister for Foreig fairs. Object of visit to pr trade co-operation.

„ 16. Death of Sir Austen Chambe

April 6. Hr. Stauning, Danish Prime M ter, arrived in London, to Danish Club. Believed that talks with Mr. Eden and Runciman also part of progra

GERMANY

March 21. The Pope issued a strongly-w Encyclical on breaches of Concordat by the German Go ment While leaving oper possibility of agreement if policy is reversed, the Pope as the Church's determinatio fight if need be

SOUTH AFRICA

April 2 Union Government published clamation containing drastic visions prohibiting political Nazi) activities of all non-B citizens in South-West A German Government protes "breach of Mandate"

EGYPT

April 12 Conference of Capitulatory P met in Montreux to d Egypt's demand, arising out treaty with England, for the tion of capitulations (special possessed by foreigners in E

INDIA

March 27/28 Congress leaders declined to Ministries on failure of Gove to give specific assurances that would not use their special pc

April 1 Provincial Autonomy, first sta New Constitution, came force Minority Coalition M tries formed in Provinces Congress has majority. On strike organised by Congress

„ 10. Nine British and 20 Indian so killed in clash with tribesme North-West frontier

JAPAN

April 9. Two Japanese airmen arri London from Tokio after a of 94 hours, bearing messa goodwill for the King.

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GEORGE LANSBURY:

"We Must Have a Great Crusade!"

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advertisements and at the others in the later sections of this

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WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please. Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

"NO" TO DICTATORS

by VERNON BARTLETT

THE foreign guests to the most impressive show ever staged in a democratic country have gone home. Those who came from totalitarian States may have been horrified as much as they were impressed, for the Coronation gave individuals an opportunity for expressing themselves in colours in a way which made a chaos of decorations. They do these things better in Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy, Stalin's Russia. But these lovers of dictatorship should have retained enough imagination to realise the overwhelming political importance of this mass meeting of individualists from every part of the globe brought together by a common cause.

It is stupid as well as dangerous to pretend that people all over the British Empire are free. There are, even in Great Britain, inequalities of education, fortune and opportunity which make mockery of many of our professions of democracy. Mr. H. St. G. Philby pointed out recently in *Great Britain and the East* that we have not passed the acquisitive stage of our imperial history, since we have managed within the last few months to multiply the area of Aden and its hinterland by ten. Mr. H. B. Butler, Director of the International Labour Office in Geneva, in his latest and most interesting Annual

Report, points out that the dictator governments have not been nearly so backward in their social legislation as we in other countries so smugly imagine. Legal provision for holidays with pay exists, for example, in Italy, Poland, Rumania, Chile, Peru, Austria, Portugal, Brazil and other countries where democracy is treated with scant respect. It does not exist in Great Britain.

But when all is said and done, statesmen, soldiers and less conspicuous folk from all over the world have gone away from this Coronation pageant encouraged by a ceremony so crowded with evidences of the continuity of history. Tradition may have its handicaps : one great advantage of it is that it reduces these dictators, gods of a moment inflated by the hot air of their ministries of propaganda, to their proper proportions. Time after time in the Coronation service emphasis was laid on the hard-won liberties of the people and the King's obligation to respect them.

When Freedom is Suppressed

And on the other side there is, in Germany, Italy and Russia, a suppression of freedom of thought and speech which is terrifying in its implications and results. We have seen how a kindly and highly-cultured people like the Germans can be persuaded to treat their Jews in peace-time with even greater intolerance than the British showed towards the Germans in England in war-time. That treatment turned millions of lovers of Germany into critics, all the more bitter because of their disappointment, but to some extent it could be argued that the outside world had no more right to interfere or to judge than it has in the case of American treatment of Negroes who are promised equality under the Constitution or British treatment of Indians who demand the right to rule their own country.

The bombing of Guernica can be disguised by no such excuses. Three distinguished British journalists, who were on the spot even in advance of representatives of the Basque Government, have written detailed articles which leave no shadow of doubt that the bombardment was carried out with appalling thoroughness and ruthlessness by German machines. And the fact that the nationals of so distinguished a race should have swooped down almost to the ground in order to machine-gun peasants running from their burning farms

and cottages in a civil war in which Germany has no conceivable racial, economic or political reason to interfere blows to blazes all Mr. Baldwin's nice arguments against becoming involved in a conflict of ideologies. For the conflict is there already : these young Germans would never have descended to such methods had not propaganda convinced them that these men, women and children they were exterminating held views so revolting that civilisation demanded their annihilation.

It is unfortunately all too easy to find examples of the folly and intolerance to which this suppression of thought must lead. In his anger because the British Press described the Italian defeats in Spain (with a few foolish and unproven statements to the effect that the Italian is a bad fighter in all circumstances) the Duce cut off the supply of all British news to Italy. The information about the Coronation was limited in the Italian Press to an exaggerated report that one person in the crowd had been killed and several injured.

Negation of Civilisation

Hamilton Fish Armstrong, in a devastating little book, *We or They*, quotes any number of leaders of German thought to show how thinking, except along one line, is discouraged in the Third Reich. " The pacifist-humane idea may be quite good," writes Herr Hitler in the 1936 edition of *Mein Kampf*, " after the most superior persons have conquered the world in such a measure as makes them its exclusive master. . . . Anyone who really from his heart desires the victory of the pacifist idea in this world should support by every means the conquest of the world by the Germans."

No, Herr Hitler, it's not good enough. For, coupled with that ambition, goes a contempt for learning and justice which allows Dr. Rust, Minister of Education, to announce at the celebration of the five hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Heidelberg University that " the old idea of science based on the sovereign right of abstract intellectual activity has gone for ever." Or the official publication of the Ministry of Justice, *Deutsche Justiz*, to declare that " a handful of force is better than a sackful of justice." Against such negations of the very elements of civilisation we must be prepared to fight, knowing that compromise would be considered, and rightly considered, as weakness.

Think of the lamentable history of the " Gentleman's Agreement " with Italy. The very day before it is signed Mussolini destroys the spirit of it by despatching a large detachment of Italian troops to Spain. That amiable young man, Mr. Eden, has made concession after concession and has allowed principles to be treated like dirt in the hope of keeping the agreement alive. What was intended as a check on the Duce has been an encouragement. And at the end of it all Great Britain is sent to Coventry by an angry Duce as a punishment for writing the unpalatable truth.

No, Signor Mussolini, it's not good enough. We in Great Britain are sick and tired of these humiliating surrenders, of this constant subordination of principle to opportunism. Had you chosen to send representatives to our Coronation they would have reported that delegate after delegate from European countries assured the British Foreign Office and British journalists of their delight in British rearmament. Your people want peace as much as ours do, for the people are the losers in every war. The only difference is that our people have had more chance of expressing that desire, and you have misunderstood their hesitation. A nation which is pacifist because it has reached a sufficiently high stage of civilisation to see the stupidity, the bestiality, the injustice of war, is not necessarily one which will not or cannot fight in defence of its beliefs.

No Surrender to Bullying

We are—and let us admit it—frightened of war, but we are at last beginning to realise that the surest way of being involved in war is to lick dictators' boots. And we have behind us not only the immense resources of the British Commonwealth and the cordial sympathy of the United States, but also the hopes of millions of men in scores of countries, including your own. These words are written not to boast, but to warn. They are written with a pen which, even during the Peace Conference, wrote a book to protest against the injustice and selfishness which were vitiating the discussions. They are written by one who would urge any concessions but one to avoid war, and that one concession is the surrender to bullying. That surrender merely exchanges the immediate risk of war for the ultimate certainty of it.

We hear a great deal about the Rome-Berlin axis around which the world is to revolve. The understanding between those two cities may shortly develop into a military alliance, which will be unfortunate in its results (as are all special agreements of the kind, e.g., the Franco-Soviet pact), but need not be disastrous. Austria, Hungary, Jugo-slavia, Rumania and other countries may become more closely linked with Germany and Italy than they are today, so that there will be the appearance of a formidable Fascist *bloc* stretching from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. But there would be only two reasons for that *bloc*. One, that these countries had been offered substantial bribes because Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini hoped to frighten us into abolishing the League of Nations, the only system for seeking to keep peace by collective action. Two, that these countries had so little confidence in the courage and strength of Great Britain that they were constrained to make the best terms they could with the nations they most fear.

Nobody could have a greater respect than I for the nobility of the intentions of George Lansbury, who writes for us in this issue. Nobody could hope more that his initiative will encourage a change of policy in Germany. But we must not pay too high a price. We will not be a party to the destruction of the League, or the abandonment of those conceptions of liberty which gave such significance to the Coronation.

THE OBEDIENT CRITIC

When the German Government last November issued a ukase outlawing criticism in any branch of the arts, it created a field day for satirists in the non-Fascist countries. Many amusing pieces were written purporting to show what sort of articles commentators would be compelled to produce in view of the taboo. These intended burlesques, it now proves, were not burlesques ; they exaggerated the true situation only slightly, if at all.

This is seen from one law-abiding reporter's review of an art exhibit at the Berlin Academy, forwarded to the *Chicago Daily News* by its Berlin correspondent. The ex-critic went no further in his review than to count the pictures and sculptures, and classify them in various categories. There were 120 human figures, he found ; 80 blondes and 40 brunettes, " although 19 of the blondes have dark eyes and nine of the brunettes have blue eyes." There were 13 peasant subjects and 85 landscapes. The horse was the artists' favourite animal ; next came the owl. There were two busts of Hitler and one of Hindenburg. And so on, with not a word, of course, as to the quality or spirit of any item.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch, U.S.A.*

HITLER v. THE VATICAN —AND THE EMPTY TILL

SHOWMAN SCHACHT:
"Just sixpence more, ladies and gentlemen, and Adolf the Steel-eater, who lives entirely on high explosives, will continue his performance."

"L'Humanité," Paris

THE PAPAL ENCYCLICAL ACCUSES THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS OF BREAKING THE CONCORDAT.

"Little man, what now?"

Doeve,
"Haagsche Post," The Hague

In this section we publish articles, without necessarily sharing the opinions they express, by men of international fame. Here we are glad to publish a statement of his point of view by the " Grand Old Man " of English Labour, who, as the world knows, recently visited Herr Hitler and made his plea for a new spirit of Christianity in the relations between Governments, and a new world conference to give that spirit practical shape

WE MUST HAVE A GREAT CRUSADE
A Plea for Fellowship

by THE RT. HON. GEORGE LANSBURY, P.C., M.P.

EVERYBODY who thinks about conditions of life will agree that we are living in a marvellous age of scientific discovery and achievement. In all things concerning the material and physical side of life there seems to be advance. We can travel round the world in a few days, we can talk to a microphone and be heard at the ends of the earth. We sing or speak into a small tube and our songs and words are recorded for eternity. But in spite of these and many other advances nations have not yet learned how to live together in harmony and peace. So far as international relationships are concerned we live in an age of unreason. We live in a completely pre-scientific age. Of course it is true that at home, too, our industrial and social arrangements for living together are based on a competition which beggars most of our most cherished ideals. But at the minute I am writing specifically about international peace and war. Every nation desires peace. All statesmen, with one accord, say they are working for peace and are willing to co-operate one with the other in an effort, by conciliation and mutual concession, to outlaw war and create conditions which will ensure peace. At the same time all nations are asked to make enormous sacrifices of every description

in order to prepare for war. I have listened many weary hours in the House of Commons to statesmen of world-wide repute arguing in one speech and almost in one sentence two completely contradictory propositions. They run something like this :—

(A) We must build up our armaments so as to be strong enough to meet any enemy who may attack us and carry out our obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations. (It is argued by statesmen in all lands that armaments are solely for defensive purposes.) The aerial fleets that travel at 250 miles an hour are for defensive purposes. This defence, we are told, is only obtainable through offence, which means each nation, including Great Britain, must kill more of the enemy, including women and children, quicker than the enemy can kill its own.

There is much more of the same kind of talk when Ministers and others plead for money to build ships and mechanise the army. You can summarise it in a sort of lunatic slogan : " Universal slaughter for defence."

(B) The same statesmen in varying degrees of emphasis tell us the more nations pile up armaments the more certain war becomes. All writers and speakers, military, political and religious, unite in telling us that another great war will end civilisation and create chaos and barbarism. So the second slogan the youth of the world will be asked to respond to is : " Join up and make the world safe for Barbarism."

Fool's Paradise

I am far from saying that any statesman in any country desires war for the sake of slaughter, or that those who lead the world are knaves or fools. I do, however, contend that they must make up their minds what is the truth about war. As things are, they can only be described as suffering from a kind of fatalism which creates the most futile, stupid state of affairs and shows that statesmanship is lacking in commonsense or reason. Proof of this, if proof is needed, is to be found in the statement made by a British Minister in the House of Commons who declared that the expenditure on armaments, which he was urging the House to assent to, was " madness." It would be a reasonable deduction, since the House voted it, that the House of Commons has become a House of madmen. Of course,

this is not actually the case. Those in all lands who support armaments do so because they vaguely hope their worst fears will not be realised and their nation will be the one to escape unhurt. This is a very foolish and unsafe policy to adopt. The lessons gained at the close of the last war and since, should convince the most ignorant that if the peoples of Europe allow the dogs of war to be unleashed, nothing but collapse and ruin can be the result. Every war minister knows that the terrible engines of destruction now available, and the others in process of becoming, can mean nothing else.

The more I study the results of the " Great War " the more I become convinced of something else, which is, that if it were possible to visualise a similar ending to another war and one side did emerge with its opponents crushed, the result would be as futile as in 1918. War has always been the breeding ground for strife, leaving behind the seeds of more war. After November, 1918, when the statesmen representing the victors, joyously and with a great shout of triumph, imposed terms on the vanquished, most of the men who signed the treaties on behalf of the victors and joined in the jubilation, knew perfectly well they had signed not peace treaties but, on the contrary had made Europe safe for future war, unless, in the meantime, saner, wiser counsels should prevail. I gladly admit that during the years since 1919, great efforts have been made by statesmen such as the late Arthur Henderson, Monsieur Briand, Herr Stresemann, the late Sir Austen Chamberlain, and many others. They failed to undo the havoc of the treaties because every nation was stricken with fear, with the result that today the armaments in Europe are a nightmare to us all.

Horror of War is Not Enough

I hate the cold cynicism and brutality of all governments during war time, whether civil war or otherwise. Men who in private life are devoted, loving parents and kind-hearted in all human relationships, do not hesitate to use the merciless blockade which slowly starves children, women and men to death, or to defend the using of the hideous bombing aeroplane in order to win a victory. We all sin in this respect, and the horrors inflicted only differ in degree. As I look at the pictures which tell us of the horrors connected with the Spanish war, I am reminded of the film by H. G. Wells called " The

Shape of Things to Come." I am not, however, arguing that a knowledge of all these terrible things will of itself prevent war. If known horrors would kill the war spirit wars would have ceased long ago.

I write as an out-and-out pacifist : one who believes that war is a bestial crime against religion and humanity, against the laws of God—" Thou shalt do no murder "—and all the teachings of Jesus. I also wish to say that the teaching of our religion justifies the assertion that war with its universal slaughter is the greatest futility mankind has ever been guilty of. War continually demonstrates the truth that evil cannot cast out evil, and when any of us try to do so we utterly fail. We must begin a new adventure, an adventure which will start with the assumption that no one nation is responsible for world conditions, and all nations, powerful and weak, have an equal right to a full share of natural resources, markets and territories of the world, and these can only be secured through the exercise of goodwill, toleration and mutual concessions. We must bring the nations into association one with the other through a reformed and revitalised League of Nations, which should be established for the primary object of discussing how to remove the causes of war and strife between nations. The essential fault of the old League of Nations is that it organised (or tried to) force to suppress the discontented nations, and provided no effective means of revising commercial and other treaties to heal their discontents. The exact opposite must be, in both cases, our aim.

The Peoples in Want

The British commonwealth of nations and its colonial empire, the United States of America, the South American States, together with Russia, own nearly all that is worth while of the world's surface. Does anyone imagine the present economic and territorial arrangements will continue ? The great possessing powers for their own sake, and for their economic salvation, must be willing to concede new openings for trade in order to enable European peoples to find outlets for the exchange of goods and raw materials, and also room for such surplus population as Poland and other nations declare are within their borders. I am tired of hearing the words " over-production." There is an enormous increase in productivity compared with man

power employed. And at the same time there is a tremendous unsatisfied market in all lands, including the United Kingdom, the United States, Russia and Europe. There are more tremendous markets unsatisfied, and nowadays scarcely considered, in China, India, and parts of Africa.

There is no reason in the statement that the world is suffering from over-production, while millions die yearly of famine, disease and floods in many parts of the world. I refuse to accept the easy statement of economists that it is not possible to organise any " effective demand " in the markets I have mentioned. The Russian Soviet Government (however much some people may dislike its form of administration) has completely revolutionised industrial economic life within its numerous affiliated republics, and slowly but surely the standard of life is being raised and would be still higher, if the energy, skill, thought and labour put into the creation and maintenance of armed forces could be applied to the arts and science of peace. If the common people of the world would unite to compel governments to give as much time, enthusiasm and energy to the task of finding a way to peace, a way would soon be found.

Away with the Jeremiahs !

During the Great War, when most fit male adults were engaged in war, the governments were able to organise production both of foodstuffs and armaments on a colossal scale. We did not eat money or fire money at our opponents. The system of organised effort for destruction was tremendous in all lands. We must have the same drive and will for peace. I believe we have reached a state in human affairs when, unless we mend our ways of thinking, all our knowledge will become a Frankenstein's monster and destroy us. Take the case of aviation. Here is a great invention turned almost entirely into an engine of destruction of the most foul description. I mention this because it is quite clear what we are up against in this world today is just this : Those who desire peace often imagine peace will come by just talking or writing about it. Of course peace cannot be established in any such manner. We must have a great crusade calling upon our own people first, and then other nations, to make a supreme effort for an entirely fresh outlook and the creation of the will to peace. A peace conference before war breaks out is what is needed. A con-

ference to which men must come with the determination to win peace through co-operation. I take no account of the statement that such a conference will prove futile as did others, or that nobody's word is to be trusted. If all the Jeremiahs who preach and sow distrust would retire from the business for a short time, we might get a real move on, and if all, whether Germany, Britain or elsewhere who boast their own righteousness would become a little more humble and see themselves in those they denounce, we should sooner reach our goal. We must repeat again and again : It is, if we have the will, easier to organise for peace than for war. It is the will that is lacking at present. Those who desire peace must do their utmost to create the will.

Preserve Us From "Experts"

There is really no sense in saying, as some statesmen are saying, that times are too dangerous and difficult for a conference to be held. I am confident that if Great Britain will but give him encouragement, President Roosevelt, with the full consent of his people, will very soon give the world the lead it needs. We are near catastrophe because of danger spots all over Europe and in the Far East. Now is the time to enter on a new path. It is said there must be " time for preparation." Preparation by whom ? I hope at the start no experts will be called in. We know what a muddle and mess the experts made when in 1919 they were asked to assess Germany's ability to pay. A set of schoolchildren could not have proved themselves so ludicrously stupid and ignorant as did bankers and economists at that time. The preliminary conference which should meet, ought to be representative of France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States. I would like to see the Prime Minister of each State as delegate, and President Roosevelt as chairman. No one expects an immediate miracle to happen, but we are entitled to believe that if the representatives of the Great Powers did meet and were invited by President Roosevelt to discuss together as realists the present condition of the world and the ever-present danger of war, something would result. The heads of these seven States are only human beings like ourselves, with the same faults and failings as ourselves, and as full of human feeling and emotion as any among us. I do not now believe in the innate wickedness of any man. The people at the head of democratic, fascist or bolshevik states are as well aware of what war

means as are H. G. Wells and other writers. Not one of them would care to share the guilt of helping to start or himself starting a world war.

No British government, or indeed any government if the facts are known, dare lightly turn down a proposal to discuss how best to bring economic peace to Central Europe and the world, and how to satisfy the demands of Poland to find new land for millions of her population, and Germany's claim to colonies or some alternative method by which she can stabilise her exchange with other countries, so that goods she needs may without difficulty be exchanged for the goods she can produce. I write mainly of Germany, but is it not true that all Europe, including France, is likewise suffering from economic causes produced largely because of intense nationalism created by war settlements, the imposition of tariffs and quotas, plus enormous expenditure on armaments which no nation can afford? I do not accept the view that discussion with dictators is impossible or useless, or that we must wait until these men disappear because peace is impossible while they continue to exist. It is impossible for Europe to maintain itself by war. This is admitted by all who know the facts. It is equally impossible to prevent an economic and financial crash unless there is speedy co-operation between the great States in an unselfish endeavour to help each other and at the same time assist all smaller powers. All true things are simple. It is not my wish nor desire to try and write in detail on these subjects. What is, however, obvious is that we must either make war or peace with the dictators. If we are satisfied that war means universal ruin, then we must make serious efforts towards peace, however difficult we may find the task at times. We must be prepared to sacrifice something for peace or, to put it more truthfully, be willing to share with each other.

A Call to President Roosevelt

There is an English saying: "What I give I gain." This is true individually and nationally. Everywhere there is an ever-increasing desire and longing that the thought of war should be abolished, and abolished through a determined effort to breathe into this mechanised society of which we are all a part, a spirit of fellowship. Let no one say I minimise by one iota the evil which dictatorships have created, or the crimes which can be laid at the door of those who seize power by force. We in Britain are fortunate because our progress, such as it is, has been gradual. There are many people

who believe fundamental changes can only take place here through violence and bloodshed. My own view is that the British people are in the best position to give a lead to the world by calling in the aid of the United States, through their President. We are fortunate, if fortunate is the correct word, because much of our national prosperity comes to us because of our connections overseas. We draw huge quantities of our wealth in one form and another from other nations and subject races. There are more ways of controlling people than by open dictatorship. Money, power, and a sort of economic monopoly and control can extract wealth and dominate the life of peoples as effectively as the most efficient dictatorship.

British People's Responsibility

Even so, in Britain, we, the common people, do actually possess the priceless gift of freedom to speak and write our thoughts, and by our votes change the whole course of our nation's foreign policy. So we, as a nation, have a greater responsibility than almost any other. This journal circulates abroad, and what I write may be read, thought about, and criticised by friends and opponents. I would say to them all that all of us find more agreement when working together for a common object than when we are just squabbling and abusing each other. It may be this civilisation is slowly going to its doom, following the path taken by all empires and states of the past. Who can say whether this is so or not? I am only able to say that the wars of my lifetime have settled nothing permanently; that I have learned this lesson in my own life and that of my nation: "What we sow we reap." I have learned this not from books or theories but from life itself.

Think of the Ordinary Man

It may be wrong for me to assume it is possible to make peace with those who establish forms of government of which I most sincerely disapprove. I can only say if this were true all reformers must fold their tents and retire into oblivion. Of course it is not true, for in the end it is men and women like ourselves of which we must think—ordinary toilers who labour with brain and hand. Another ten million slain and many tens of millions dying of starvation, pestilence and disease will avail nothing but produce misery, suffering and barbarism. I make a plea for a new understanding, an understanding based on goodwill—seeing ourselves in others and God in us all.

LEAGUE MANDATES FOR BRITISH COLONIES

How to Secure Free Trade

by LORD NOEL-BUXTON

Such interest has been roused by the two articles which we published in our February issue, by Mr. W. H. Dawson and Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P., giving the case for and against the return of the ex-German colonies, that we are glad to be able to add this advocacy of a compromise by the distinguished progressive peer, Lord Noel-Buxton

IT has become a commonplace that freer trade is necessary, not only for its own sake, but in the interests of peace. To judge by the utterances of British Ministers, they too subscribe to this doctrine ; but their application of it has not yet progressed very far. One way in which trade could definitely be relieved of restrictions would be by the restoration of the Open Door in the British colonies ; and this might in some cases (particularly in Africa) be permanently guaranteed by means of placing these colonies under Mandate from the League of Nations. If it were found possible to induce other colonial Powers to take the same step in regard to some of their colonies, a greatly enlarged Open Door area would be created, and the volume of trade in the world in general would be increased, to the manifest benefit of all concerned.

The placing of British colonies under Mandate would take away a large part of the grievance which is felt by the Germans, the Japanese, and other unsatisfied Powers. It would relieve them of restrictions which hamper their exports, thus enabling them to buy the raw materials which they require, and relieving the world of the constant danger of an " explosion," of which the Germans frequently speak, and of which Japan has given us an example in Manchuria, and Italy in Abyssinia.

It is, perhaps, difficult for an Englishman to realise the intense exasperation which is caused to a citizen of one of the dissatisfied States (especially Germany, which used to have colonies, but has them no more) when he contemplates the tremendous advantages

possessed by the British Empire. Some 45 million people—70 million including the Dominions—of British stock, are the rulers, the beneficiaries, of an Empire which includes a quarter of the earth's land, a quarter of its inhabitants, and probably about a third of its wealth. Of the 25 essential materials, the British Empire does not need to look outside its frontiers for 18, while the Germans only have adequate supplies of four. And the Germans are fully convinced that this state of affairs is due to historical accident, and the luck of the last War.

This feeling of irritation is natural in an unsatisfied country ; it resembles the envy with which the poor sometimes regard the rich. But Germany repudiates Bolshevism, and therefore would presumably not regard it as proper for the " have-nots " to despoil the " haves " ; were it not that the " haves," with what must seem foolhardy arrogance, have taken upon themselves to exclude the " have-nots " even from trading with their colonial possessions.

Selfish Britain

Most colonial Powers have for long endeavoured to make of their colonies an exclusive preserve for their own trade ; but Britain had, until recently, a more generous policy, and preserved the Open Door. Unfortunately, the cold blasts of wintry depression have slammed the once Open Door, and now the markets of the British Colonial Empire are as closely guarded, with tariffs, preferences and quotas, as those of other European States. Britain, which once was proud, as Joseph Chamberlain said, to develop her colonies for the good of the whole world, now pursues a policy as exclusive, as selfish, as regardless of other peoples' interests, as any other satiated Power.

There are still exceptions in the colonial world, to point the contrast with the exclusiveness of the " owned " colonies. Certain Mandated Territories, administered under the authority of the League of Nations, have in their constitutions the condition that the Open Door must be maintained for the trade of all members of the League. Certain other colonies have the same condition imposed on them by a number of treaties regulating the " Conventional Basin of the Congo," in Central Africa. In Tanganyika, which is covered by both of these arrangements, the Germans trade freely. They complain that they are hampered by the currency not being Reichsmarks, as it would be if Germany were the administering Power ; but the

fact is, they can send their exports to Tanganyika, and buy raw materials in return. This is not so in Sierra Leone.

British people, when they read history, shake their heads over the Empires of the past, including colonial empires in the last few centuries, and hope that *their* Empire, at least, will escape the usual pitfalls and achieve permanence. So may it be ! But is it the right way of bringing about this admirable result, to administer our heritage as a private estate, in the bad old way of the empires which have perished, entirely neglecting the new ideas which we were all so ready to accept at the end of the Great War ? After all, ideas and principles and conditions in international life have really undergone a great change. Otherwise, why did the ordinary British people condemn the Italians for doing what we ourselves have done on countless occasions, before the War, and the Covenant of the League ?

"Why the knot in the flag?"
"To remind us that we are still a great colonial power!"

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

The change in ideas has brought with it a change in the conception of prestige. This change had begun, even before the War. The British people, which is capable of astonishing idealism, gave back the French colonies at the Congress of Vienna, in the interests of a good settlement, and of the abolition of the Slave Trade. In 1863, Mr. Gladstone gave back to Greece the Ionian Islands, upon the accession to the Greek throne of a Danish Prince. These acts of generosity did not injure our prestige ; they showed that the British Empire was not only great, but also just and generous. In the same way, to place certain territories under Mandation, to hand them to the League and receive them back under Mandate, would not appear as a weakening of our Imperial greatness.

No Evils to Fear

The Government appears to anticipate certain evil results from such a change. Thus, Lord Plymouth, in the House of Lords debate in February, painted a touching picture of the simple-minded aboriginal, weeping that his beloved sovereign had been coupled in his sovereignty with an equally unknown Commission in Geneva. In point of fact, however, the British flag would continue to fly in front of Government House, as it still does at Dar-es-Salaam. The administration would hardly undergo any change—unless it were in the direction of improvements, suggested from the experience of other colonial administrators, revealed at the sessions of the Mandates Commission. The Annual Report of the Colony would be slightly altered in its form, but would contain information which is already collected, and an inconsiderable sum of a few pounds would be spent upon sending an official, already on leave in London, to attend a meeting at Geneva.

In these Reports to the Mandates Commission, the Mandatory Power is asked to tell the Mandates Commission what rules he has made to restrict the free movement of natives about the Territory. He is asked about his measures for health and education, and how much money is spent on these objects, compared with what is raised in the Territory by taxation. Searching questions are directed to the discovery of slavery, in any hidden form, such as forced labour or adoption. Mistakes, productive of immense human misery, such as those brought to light by the recent Nyasaland Report, can often be

avoided through the discussions and deliberations of a body with real experience and understanding of its subject. The Mandates Commission has contained great colonial rulers, e.g., Lord Lugard.

The natives have a direct interest in the vigilance of the Mandates' Commission. There are colonial Powers whose methods sorely need the admission of daylight. There are more responsible administrations which, nevertheless, make mistakes. There are occasions when the interests of the natives and those of the administering Power conflict, as when there is a possibility of planting settlers. Particularly when fiscal arrangements are being made, the native needs the disinterested umpire to protect him from his benefactors !

Ultimately, however, this is a question of the peace of the world. Even to a native African, there can hardly be a more urgent interest than that of world peace. If Europe goes up in flames, he will be ruled by a lower grade of white man, he will be taxed, and he will be conscripted. His progress will be put back indefinitely. For Africa, as well as for Europe, peace is essential. Mandation will benefit the native in its direct results, and no less in its indirect outcome—the ultimate peace of the world.

WOMAN CAPTAIN'S FEAT

Anna Shchetinina, Captain of the steamship Chavych, has been presented with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour by the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S S.R. (the Soviet parliament) for her outstanding ability as commander and organiser. When the steamship Chavych was purchased abroad some time ago, Anna Shchetinina was appointed as her captain and ordered to bring the vessel from Hamburg to Vladivostok. Seamen still relate how on this first voyage as commander, she stayed six days and nights on the bridge to bring the vessel safely to Gibraltar through the dense fog.—*Soviet Union Year Book Press Service, London.*

FOREIGN ENTERTAINERS?

A shipment of 100 trained fleas has arrived at Boston, and, by direction of the Federal Department of Entomology, been admitted to the United States under the classification of " wild animals." This ruling ends a controversy as to whether the fleas should be considered as insects or " foreign entertainers."—*Evening Standard, London.*

OBVIOUS

A Tennessee woman, eighty years old, has never seen an automobile. Which may be the reason she is eighty years old.—*Florence Herald, U.S.A.*

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Empty Till

SHORTLY after the German crash of 1923, some tactless American bankers advised Dr. Schacht, then newly appointed President of the Reichsbank, to come and study finance in New York.

Europe's currency juggler No. 1 had his answer pat. " Any fool," he said, "can be a successful banker when he has more millions to handle than the rest of the world put together. If you want to know what banking is, come to Berlin, where we have to bank on nothing."

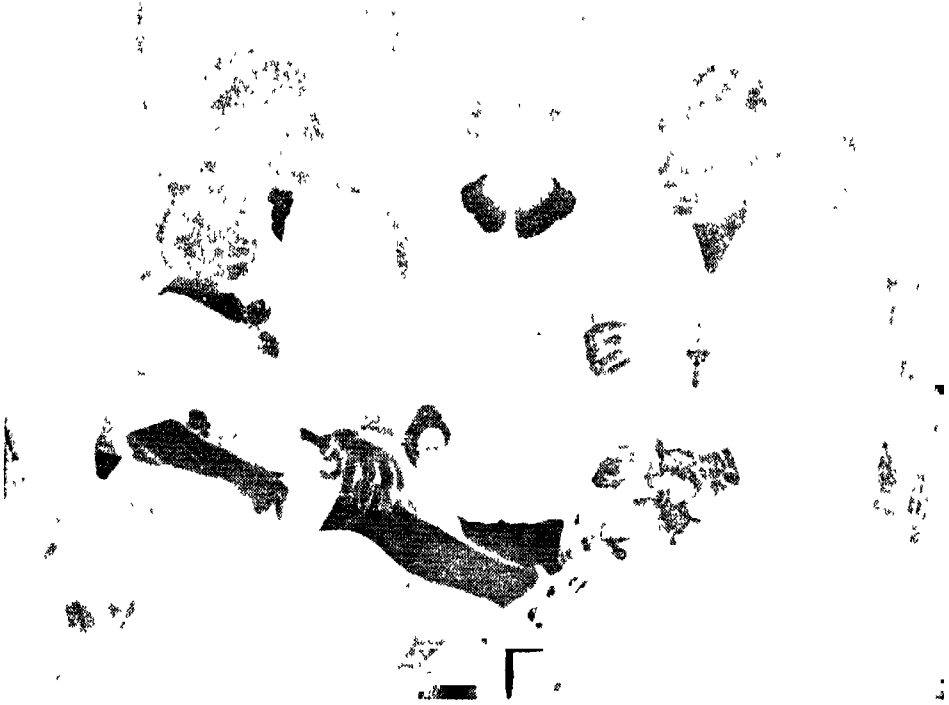
But *ex nihilo nihil fit*, and there is no cash to be got out of bartering Hungarian pigs for German machinery ; hence Dr. Schacht's recent visit to Brussels and his more receptive attitude towards the idea of lowering trade barriers.

Cancelling the Noughts

Hjalmar Horace Greeley Schacht, son of a Danish mother and of a father who admired the great American democrats, has always been a close student of British financial methods. His university doctorate was obtained for a thesis on English mercantilism. Later, when he became head of the Reichsbank, one of his first steps was to consult the Director of the Bank of England, Mr. Montagu Norman, who helped him over his proposal to set up a gold bank in Berlin.

At that time the mark stood at 150,000,000,000 to the £. It took 1,783 printing presses, running in 133 offices, and some 30 paper mills, working day and night, to keep pace with the currency collapse. By inventing the Rentenmark, Dr. Schacht succeeded at last in crossing off the noughts.

Gargoyle

In spite of his bizarre appearance, Dr. Schacht has a highly

THE GUARDIAN OF THE MARK TAKES A DAY OFF
Dr Schacht, with his wife and grandchildren, on his 60th birthday

developed sense of humour. He would be far less ugly if he did not always wear ill-fitting pince-nez and a ludicrously high collar, which he generally puts on the wrong way out. Yet, when, as often happens, the funny side of walking on the financial tight-rope strikes him, he can chuckle as merrily as any of his critics.

Those Anglo-Saxons

But, although Dr. Schacht can see a joke, he has little tact. For instance, while talking to an English banker, he has been known to quote the mark exchange in terms of dollars or to ask him when he is returning to Wall Street. In other words, if his mind happens to be focused on New York, London just doesn't come into the picture and he sees no need for differentiating between the English-speaking peoples.

Besides, in the old pre-crisis days, it was only natural for Schacht to be preoccupied with America. As he once told a friend then,

"I cannot walk past the Adlon Hotel without an American running out and offering me a loan."

Place in the Sun

Dr. Schacht is the one person who can safely criticise the Nazi regime. But he is by no means out of sympathy with it. If the four-year plan for self-sufficiency can be worked, he will work it nor is he likely to favour any economic concessions to other countries without a political *quid pro quo.* He has always advocated the return to Germany of her former colonies.

Over thirty years ago he was a member of a Colonial Club in Berlin, which, although not attended by colonials, held regular meetings. The members sat round a table over which hung an illuminated sign with the following inscription : "*Es muss was geschehen*" (something must be done about it). Dr. Schacht's attitude has not changed.

From Prison Camp to Cabinet

In the Belgian Prime Minister, Dr. Schacht met a former prisoner of war. M. Paul van Zeeland had just obtained his degree when the war broke out. Mobilised at once, and mentioned in dispatches he was taken prisoner in December, 1914, and interned at Zoetau There the young intellectual spent his spare time learning German English and Russian. But, after a number of unsuccessful attempts to escape, he was transferred to Stuttgart, where he was forced to work ten hours a day at unloading tar for the municipal gasworks

Globe-Trotter

M. van Zeeland did not take up the study of economics until after the war. He first went to America, where he spent some time at the university of Princeton, before writing a successful book on American monetary reform. This was followed by a rapid career in the Belgian National Bank, where he soon became indispensable as the financial expert sent to assist the Belgian delegations at all the big international conferences.

After a first-hand study of conditions in Russia, he published a book on Stalin's original five-year plan and later criticised the excesses of capitalism in an interesting survey of the situation in Europe. A Catholic with liberal views, he has himself come to believe in industria planning, but only in a mild form.

Fidgets in the Far East

The ticklishness of Russo-Japanese relations is reflected in the choice of the new Foreign Minister in Tokyo. Mr. Naotake Sato came straight from the Embassy in Paris to join General Hayashi's non-party Government. A diplomat *de carrière*, Mr. Sato has twice for long periods been stationed in Russia and has come to be looked on as Japan's foremost expert on Soviet affairs.

Official Peacemaker

Mr. Sato's first visit to Russia took place shortly after the Japanese victory in the war of 1905 and lasted nearly ten years. During that time, he proved of great assistance to his chief, the late Ambassador Baron Motono, in restoring friendly intercourse between the two countries. Reconciliation was again his task when in 1925 he was appointed *chargé d'affaires* in Moscow.

Apart from the intermittent skirmishing along the Amur valley, Japan's adherence to the anti-Comintern pact has loaded the atmosphere with suspicion. When General Hayashi took office, several important party leaders attacked the policy to which they attributed the falling-off in Soviet-Japanese goodwill. Mr. Sato's appointment, with its promise of a *détente*, was therefore particularly well received.

George Washington again

Mild and affable in manner, Mr. Sato has the reputation of being a diplomat who never tells a lie. Preferring persuasion to deception, he has no difficulty in winning people's confidence. A man of wide culture, he retains the simple, rather austere outlook of the old Samurai.

Unlike most Japanese Foreign Ministers, he has never served in London or Washington, and, except for a spell in Manchuria during the war, has no expert knowledge of China. But his many appearances at Geneva have given him a comprehensive grasp of world affairs and acquaintanceship with many foreign politicians. From the internal point of view, he has the advantage of being on close terms of personal friendship with the War Minister, General Sugiyama, which means that he need not fear opposition from the military. As for naval affairs, however much he and Sir Robert Craigie, the new British Ambassador, may disagree, the atmosphere is sure to remain cordial.

THE PARIS EXHIBI
IN DISTRESS

implicissimus," Munich

AT THE GERMAN PAVILION

ench strike pickets. "What, they call themselves proper rrkers! Why, they're *working!*"

"Marianne,'

LET US EXPLAIN

"Well, you see, as delay has been forging ahea such a rate, we have had to fix a provisional clo of the final opening"

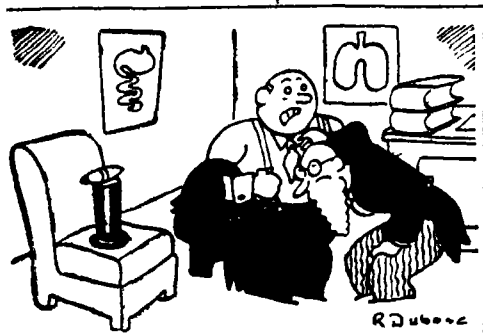
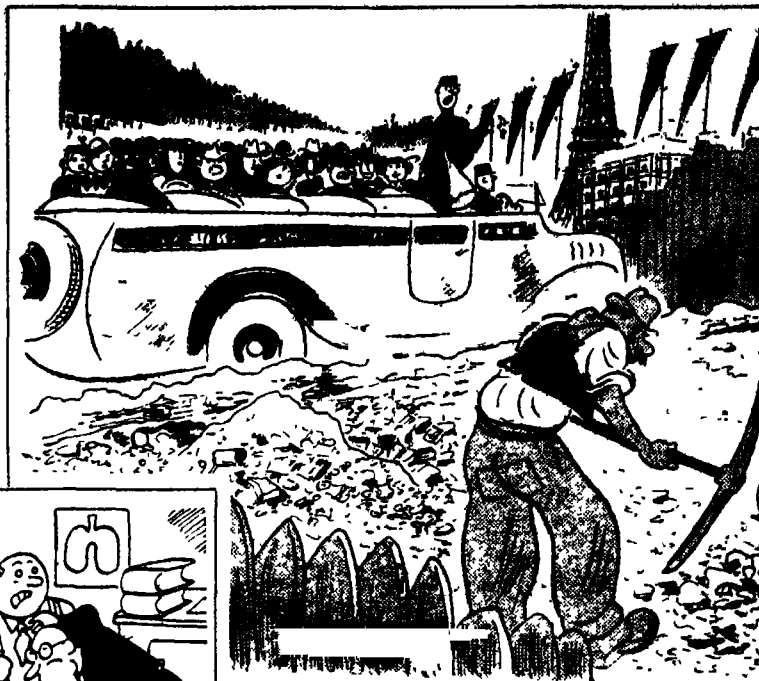
"We haven't a minute to lose. Where shall I lay this foundation stone?"

"Marianne," Paris

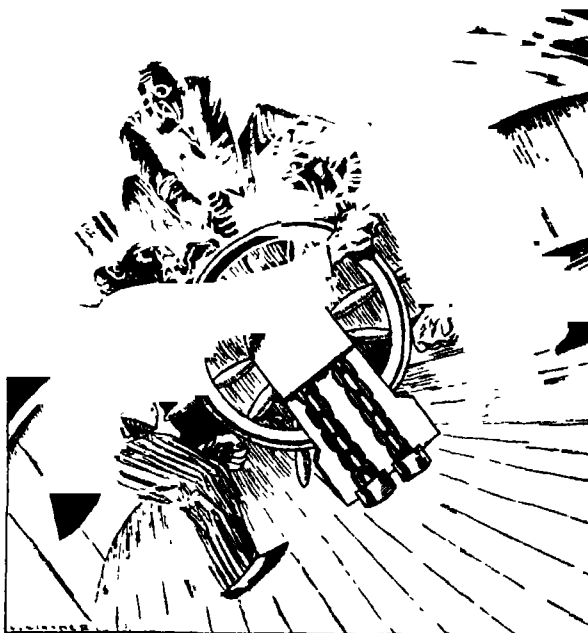
ꞁLUM ꞁETWEEN TWO ꞁTOOLS—

"Il Travaso delle Idee,"

A PARIS CURIOSITY

The Guide. "There, ladies and gentlemen, you admire the workman, Jean Dupont, who for two weel worked his 40 hours without once having gone on stri

L'Humanité," Paris

THE CAPITALIST FEELS ILL

Ah, now I know what's wrong You have ifficulty in digesting the new social laws"

"IT WAS A DARK AND STORMY NIGHT . . . ."

. . . . But Blum the helmsman sticks to his post.

"Brennessel," Munich

FROM A GENEVA NOTEBOOK

By ULYSSES

(*Our Geneva Correspondent*)

WHILE the statesmen of Europe have been playing diplomatic general post during the last two months, Geneva has been the calm centre of the hurricane of war, plotting, intrigue and stupidity which has been twisting about Europe and Asia. The fact that the League machinery, designed to suppress war and to end secret diplomacy, is being ignored in these all-important events speaks discouragingly for itself; not until the end of the month of May will there be a resumption of diplomatic activity—and then only because routine meetings, scheduled long beforehand, have to be held. However, the gathering of diplomats at Geneva for the Council, the Special Assembly for the admission to the League of Egypt and for the first meeting of the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference to be held since the Autumn of 1934, will have plenty to talk about privately, however dull the actual agendas of these meetings may be.

At the time of writing, it is not yet clear whether the Spanish Government is going to bring non-intervention and the atrocities committed by Franco's troops before the League Council, or whether they will be content to publish the evidence of these crimes which they possess. The Valencia authorities have no illusions about the League being able to help them, but they are very anxious that their case should be clearly put before the world so that those in democratic countries who have not made up their minds about the rights and wrongs of this war should be shown convincingly where the blame lies.

But whether the Spanish appeal comes formally before the Council or not, Spain will be the principal topic of conversation at Geneva, where the impression is very strong that the Civil War is going shortly to lead to a crisis much graver than any that has been faced by Europe during the past year.

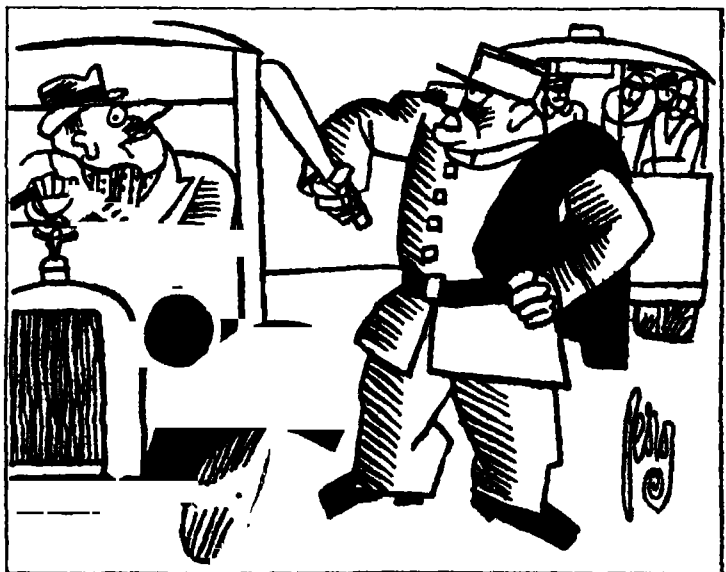
Geneva is always an optimistic town, seeing generally pretty much what it wants to see, and it has been hopefully prophesying internal trouble for Mussolini for a long time; now, however, evidence as unquestionable as evidence of this kind from a dictatorship country can be, is at hand to show that the internal situation in Italy is extremely bad.

From this it is deduced that the recent series of startling and meaningless moves and speeches against Britain, as well as most of the rest of recent Fascist diplomacy, have been made in order to give the Italian people something to think about. These old-fashioned tricks may work for a little longer, but soon Mussolini must produce something much more sensational than a stream of abuse against British newspapers and correspondents.

New Italian Drive in Spain?

It is forecast with assurance in Geneva that Italy will soon launch a redoubled effort to win the war in Spain, with or without German collaboration. So far Italy has waged this war on a limited liability basis, in order that she could withdraw from it if it were necessary. For reasons of prestige, it has now become impossible for her to withdraw, whether she wants to or not, and from her point of view, she might as well throw all her weight into the struggle. What this would mean may be judged from the fact that at present the rebels have about 150 warplanes at the present time—and Mussolini well over 2,000. Of course he would not be able to send all of these to Spain, but he could send enough to destroy the organised resistance of the Government.

"What's wrong with you? Are you deaf and blind?"

"Almost, I'm on the Non-Intervention Control Commission."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

Of the various diplomatic events of the past two months, the nearest to Geneva, politically and geographically, was the Conference for the Abolition of Capitulations in Egypt, which opened at Montreux on April 12 and ended on May 8 with the signing of the treaty which removed the last limitations on Egypt's sovereignty. The conference was considered by everybody—with the exception of the Italians—as a great success. An Egyptian diplomat summed it up by saying : " We got everything we wanted, and had to give much less than we thought that we might have to "

A foreign spokesman said : " We did not have to give nearly as much as we might have had to give, and we got all we really wanted."

It is a long time since an international conference has ended up in that spirit, and a great deal of credit is due to the Egyptians, British and French alike.

The "Champion of Islam"

The Conference had been convened in Montreux in order that the Italians would attend—since Mussolini still thinks it beneath his dignity to send a delegation to Geneva, despite the fact that the high Fascist officials of the League Secretariat retain their posts. The Italians came, and after they had been in Montreux for about twenty-four hours, it was clear why they had decided to attend this meeting—the first international gathering to be graced by an Italian delegation since the Abyssinian War. They also showed in full and unfriendly light the true meaning of Mussolini's pose as Champion of Islam, as the head of their delegation, Count Aldrovandi, fought to maintain the privileges of the Italian residents in Egypt. It is interesting to note that this line of policy was adopted by the Italian delegation after a struggle between the Fascist Party and the Italian Foreign Office. The Foreign Office wished to be conciliatory to the Egyptians in an effort to win support for Mussolini's Islamic ideas, while the party was more concerned for the fate of the various Fascist organisations which flourish in Egypt, and which, once capitulations are abolished, will either have to modify their propaganda and intrigues or else be suppressed by the Cairo authorities.

The Italian stand had no result and after four weeks the treaty was signed : it provides for (1) the end of capitulations, which means that foreigners lose their special legal and fiscal privileges, and (2) a

twelve-year transitional period during which time foreigners, instead of being tried by their own consular courts, will appear before Mixed Egyptian and Foreign tribunals, which, after twelve years will be replaced by all-Egyptian courts.

Islam is Uniting

Two interested and interesting spectators at the Conference were Mr. Wang, Chinese *chargé d'affaires* at Berne, and ex-King Amanullah of Afghanistan. The Chinese concern with the abolition of capitulations—called extraterritoriality in the Far East—is obvious, and the fact that the ex-King of Afghanistan " happened " to leave his exile in Rome to come to Montreux just when the Capitulations Conference was meeting is an indication of the great importance which the Conference had in the eyes of all the Middle and Near East ; for the emergence of Egypt, after 2,000 years, as a free and independent state, will give added impetus to the process of coalescing the Islamic states which is at present going on. Step by step, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, are forming themselves into a political group—within the framework of the League Covenant—which marks a new step forward in the history of the Pan-Islam ideal. This is a sweeping statement, and it needs to be qualified by drawing attention to a number of petty differences between these States, but in its essence it is true.

The keystone of the new arrangement is, of course, the four-power pact between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, initialled in October, 1935, and awaiting signature at the present time—a signature which is to take place as soon as the boundary dispute between Iran and Iraq over the mouth of the Shatt-al-Arab is definitely concluded. Turkey's participation in this Pact links it, of course, with the Balkan Entente, and then, in turn, through Rumania and Yugoslavia, with the Little Entente ; the Turks are taking very seriously their position as a link between the collective agreements of Europe and Asia—so seriously that there has been a certain amount of ill-feeling between the Turks and their oldest allies in post-war Europe, the Russians. This ill-feeling recently resulted in the withdrawal from Ankara of the Russian Ambassador, M. Karakhan, and his replacement by a man who, it is hoped in Moscow, will re-build and re-cement Russo-Turkish relations.

The four-power group of Turkey-Iran-Iraq and Afghanistan are linked with the other Moslem states through the treaties between Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, and less directly by the recent treaty between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, which brought to an end the controversy over the right of access by Egyptians to the Holy Places. In passing, it should be noted that Iraq is already bound by a strong treaty to Britain—as is Egypt—and that these treaties provide that the Iraqi and Egyptian armies and air forces shall be organised and equipped on British lines. The treaty between Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Yemen also provides that the two Arabian armies shall be similarly organised.

The inclusion of the Yemen in this group is of special interest, as it was in the Yemen that, three years ago, the Italians made their first attempt to gain a foothold in Asia—when they persuaded the Imam Yahiya of Yemen to go to war with Ibn Saud. The Saudi ruler was quickly victorious, and since that time, the Italians have had to look elsewhere for opportunities to trouble the peace. They have found them, notably, in two places—in Syria and on the North-West Frontier, where Italian agents have taken advantage of whatever grievances the native populations have had against the British and the Turks to spread as much death and destruction as they can.

The situation in Syria is another difficulty in the path of the creation of an Islamic alliance, and the raids by Syrians across the Turkish frontier—at the end of which the Syrians return in triumph to their villages and sell their booty amidst wild enthusiasm—did not augur well for the entrance of Syria into the alliance when she is finally free from French political control.

More likely recruits in the near future, however, are the tribal States of the south shore of the Persian Gulf. Egypt herself is going to be occupied for the next few years with her internal problems, and is not likely to join formally for some time, but she remains indirectly linked by her treaty with Britain and by her membership of the League.

All this is encouraging ; the small States of the Near and Middle East, who have been the puppets of the big Powers for decades, are banding themselves together in the defence of their territories and in defence of peace—in defence of the League's peace. Everything is not going to happen at once, but an excellent beginning has been made.

WEAK LINKS—

When homage from the Commonwealth was broadcast on Coronation Day, two omissions must have struck listeners. First, that mention of our western neighbour was confined to Northern Ireland, leaving out the Free State (now rebaptised " Eire "); and, second, that it was the King's own representative, Lord Linlithgow, and not an Indian, who expressed loyalty for that Empire. Here we give extracts which throw light on the situation in Eire and India. Both have new Constitutions, but at opposite ends of the ladder leading to independence. Eire, arrived at the top, is celebrating a Constitution in which Britain and the Commonwealth appear to be left on the doorstep

EIRE GOES ITS OWN WAY

From the " Irish Times " (Opposition organ)

MR. DE VALERA has kept at least one promise to the people of the Free State : he has drafted his new Constitution as if Great Britain were a million miles away. From start to finish of this

long and rather dreary document not only is there no mention of Great Britain, but the Commonwealth of Nations also is ignored. There is an oblique reference to it—a kind of shamefaced attempt to keep a last-minute grip on the painter, as it were—but for the rest Great Britain might be just as far away as Aldebaran, although everybody knows perfectly well that the thing that really matters most in this country is its relationship with the neighbouring island.

From the point of view of the ordinary citizen, the new Constitution can be summarised very briefly. In bald terms, it abolishes the Irish Free State, substituting for *Saorstát Eireann* an entity to be known as *Eire*, which shall comprise the whole of Ireland, its islands and territorial seas. This new State will be " independent, sovereign and democratic," and, pending its territorial reintegration—in short, until Northern Ireland chooses to adhere to it—its area of jurisdiction will be identical with that of the poor old *Saorstát*. That which we call a rose by any other name. . . . ! Doubtless, *Eire* will smell more sweetly in the nostrils of the electorate a few months hence than *Saorstát Eireann* ; but we seem to remember that, even in the much despised Treaty, the Free State claimed a hypothetical jurisdiction over the whole of our island, that it already is " sovereign, independent and democratic," and that, although it is legally a member of the British Commonwealth, in fact it is an illegitimate Republic.

The Eamon of Eire

The Governor-General was abolished some time ago. He now will be replaced by a far more imposing functionary in the person of *Uachtaran na hEireann*—President of *Eire*—who apparently will be a super-Governor-General masquerading as President of the Republic, or a President of the Republic masquerading as a super-Governor-General. Actually, he will be the ceremonial head of the State, who will exercise the functions formerly exercised through the Governor-General by the King. This President will be elected by the people for a term of seven years ; he will not be allowed to leave the country during his period of office without special permission, will be outside and above all party politics, and will have some important powers. The creation of this post will involve a change in the title of the chief of the Executive Council, who henceforward will be known as the *Taoiseach*, or, in plain English, the Prime Minister. He will have a

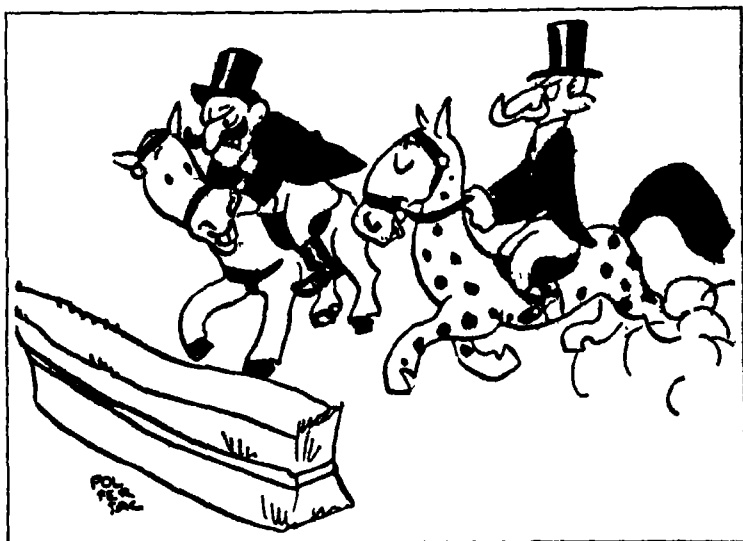
deputy, yclept the *Tánaiste*, a reversion to the times of the Brehon laws. Furthermore—and here let us congratulate Mr. de Valera on a really constructive proposal—there will be a new Senate. It will have sixty members, of whom eleven will be nominated and the rest elected.

There is a special clause in the new Constitution to prevent divorce ; freedom of conscience and speech is guaranteed—although there is a suspicious reference to the Press which will need careful scrutiny ; and provision is made for a referendum. There will be other changes of a minor type ; but, on the whole, *Eire* will bear a remarkably close resemblance to the late lamented *Saorstát*.

What About Britain?

Is it possible that Mr. de Valera has produced this instrument without any kind of reference to the other party to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 ? Surely the new Constitution abrogates the Treaty ; or, if it does not abrogate it, what on earth does it all mean ? As matters stand at present, citizens of the Free State are citizens of the Commonwealth. They enjoy virtually all the privileges in Great Britain of an Englishman or a Scot ; they are accepted as co-equal citizens throughout the Empire, and can move freely from Ireland to Great Britain without passports or restrictions of any kind. They are eligible everywhere for jobs—hundreds of them go across to England every week in search of work—and, but for this fact, both

TOUJOURS LA POLITESSE

"After you, Mademoiselle"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

our Universities would be forced to close their gates within a twelvemonth. What will be the situation now, in default of some previous arrangement between Dublin and London? By virtue of an Act of last December, *Saorstát Eireann* " recognises " the King for certain " external " purposes. Will *Eire* recognise him for the same purposes —will he, in fact, allow himself in the long run to be " recognised " in such a churlish way? To these questions *Bunreacht na hEireann* gives no answer. It merely suggests that *Eire* is neither fish, flesh, nor even a good red herring. It does not tell us whether we are in the Commonwealth or out of it. Can it be that Mr. de Valera does not really know?

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

From the " Irish Press " (Government organ)

IT [the new Constitution of Eire] establishes a precedent by substituting for the usual preamble an invocation of the Most Holy Trinity to Whom " all actions both of men and States must be referred," and by the declaration that the object sought was " to promote the common good, so that the dignity and freedom of the individual may be assured, true social order attained, the unity of our country restored and concord established with other nations."

It must give a thrill to every Irish heart to know that in the forefront of the new Constitution is this appeal for Divine guidance and support and this dedication of the State to the carrying out of the works of justice and charity. In the same spirit it is laid down in the instrument that " the homage of public worship is due to Almighty God. It [the State] shall hold His Name in reverence and shall respect and honour religion." That might be said to be the keynote of the Constitution. That is the spirit which permeates, animates, leavens the whole.

On the question of religion, the State recognises the special position of the Catholic Church as the guardian of the faith professed by the great majority of the citizens, but it also recognises the Church of Ireland, the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, the Quaker body, the Jewish congregations and other religious denominations existing in Ireland. It guarantees not to endow any religion or

to impose disabilities or make discrimination on the ground of religious belief. Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are likewise guaranteed to every citizen.

ULSTER'S POINT OF VIEW

From the " Belfast Telegraph "

IT is well that the removal of the flimsy mask should show us exactly what we have to expect if ever we were so unfortunate as to be merged into the Free State. One of the principal objects of the new Constitution is to satisfy the demands of the extreme Republicans, who are constantly heard to declare that while the De Valera Government asserts itself as wholly independent of the British Crown, it is in reality closely connected with the Government at Westminster in many ways. The connection is undeniable, though not in the sense in which it is understood by the Republican " Left Wing." The economic ties between Great Britain and Northern Ireland on one side and the Irish Free State on the other are so strong that the attempt to ignore them is futile.

The proposed new Free State Constitution does not contain many strikingly original features. It is to be a building constructed from odds and ends, ideas being borrowed partly from the United States, partly from France, and to some extent from other countries, including the Fascist Governments of the Continent of Europe. It appears to be planned principally with the object of providing a fitting habitation for Mr. De Valera, who, it is to be supposed, will be the first "President" and may also be the first Dictator.

Article 2 of the Constitution asserts that the " national territory consists of the whole of Ireland, its islands and territorial seas." This implied claim to include Northern Ireland within the scope of the Dublin Government cannot, however, as Clause 3 virtually admits, be put into effect, and Ulster Loyalists have no reason for being disquieted by it. We regret to see our neighbours still on the downward path that leads to separation from the British Empire and repudiation of the authority of the Crown, but we can at least feel thankful that we remain on firm and level ground from which we cannot be dislodged so long as we remain resolute and united.

INDIAN GROWING-PAINS—

THE CONGRESS DEMANDS

by BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD

From the "Hindustan Times," Delhi

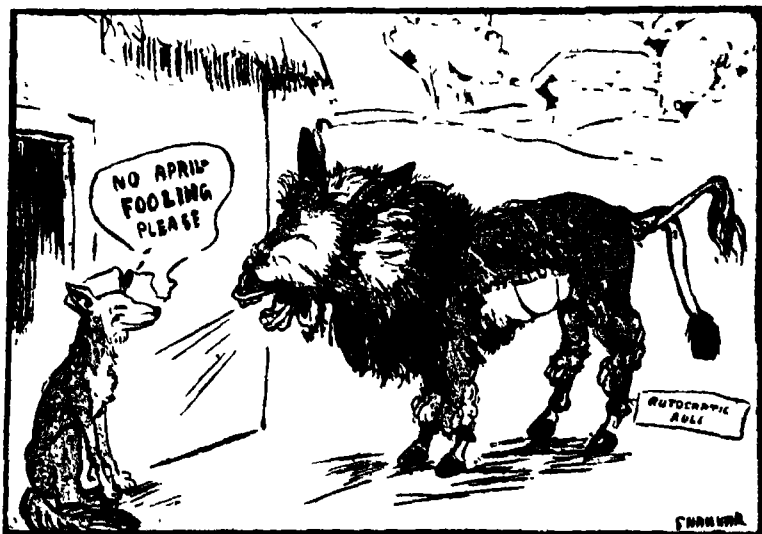
The British Commonwealth is only strong if it is also supple and adaptable. Victory of the Congress Party at Elections held under the new Constitution gives rise to fresh problems resulting from this step forward towards Indian self-government. The dispute as to whether the step is a big enough one to allow of collaboration between Delhi and Congress may be settled before these articles appear in print, but they are none the less of historical interest

THE significance of the Congress victory at the polls has not been fully realised. It is generally stated that the Congress has secured a majority of seats in 6 out of 11 provinces, leaving the impression on the minds of the unwary, that after all Congress victory is only in little over half the country. That is far from correct. These six provinces in which Congress has achieved such marvellous success have more than 64 per cent. of the population of British India. Of the remaining five provinces, Congress members constitute the largest single party in three of them and the population of these is about 25 per cent. of the population of British India. The Congress is in minority in only two provinces and the population is only about 11 per cent.

The election was fought and won in such an overwhelming manner on the issue of rejection of the new Constitution and for combating and ending it. The electorate has given its clear and unequivocal verdict for the Congress policy and programme. Yet the A.I.C.C. did not straightaway reject office acceptance as it could well have done. It permitted and authorised acceptance of office provided the leader of the Congress Party was satisfied and declared publicly that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of his Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities. The demand of assurance arose naturally out of this proviso as the leader could not be satisfied about the non-use of his special powers by the Governor without any assurance given by him, and particularly so when the leader had to make a public declaration.

The form in which the assurance was to be given was left indeterminate to make it easier for the Governors to give it. It would be absurd to imagine that a responsible person like the leader of the Congress Party could be satisfied and make a public declaration of his being so satisfied without an assurance from the Governor.

The demand for an assurance was also simple and such as any Governor could give without in any way going against any provision of the Act or without in any way prejudicing his own position, if only he was prepared to allow his Ministers real responsibility for the administration of the province within the very limited sphere of responsibility allowed under the Act. The proviso to the A.I.C.C. resolution did not demand an abrogation of the Act or any of its sections which obviously a Governor could not promise. It did not demand any assurance in regard to matters which were beyond the constitutional powers vested in the Ministers. It did not require that the Governor would promise to disregard any direction issued by the Governor-General or by any other superior authority. It did not require the Governor to give up his right of action in any matter in which he was bound to act and had no discretion to abstain from acting. All that the proviso demanded was that the Governor should give an assurance that he would not use his special powers of interference and set aside the advice of his Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities only in cases where the Governor in his

"It is a constitution with a democratic veil in the Provinces, but essentially of a Fascist type."
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

'Hindustan Times," *Delhi.*

own unfettered discretion was free to interfere or not to interfere as he chose without let or hindrance.

And if any occasion arose in which the difference between the Ministers and the Governor was of such a vital nature that it could not be solved, the Governor would be free to consult the electorate by dissolving the House. But so long as the Ministers held office and enjoyed the confidence of the House and the electorate, the Governor was expected to subordinate his own arbitrary will to the will of the representatives of the people. This is the test in all democracies, and the new Constitution which professes to be a democratic constitution must conform to this test.

With all the costly paraphernalia and appearance of a democratic constitution, the Government of India Act has failed at the first touch of reality and the Governors have refused to surrender their extensive powers of interference in the details of administration even by convention and by way of experiment for a short period. The Ministers have to act with the Damocles' sword hanging over their heads and to maintain good behaviour at the dictation of the Governor on pain of being pulled up even in small matters.

APPEAL TO REASON

From the " Madras Mail " (British)

WE are informed by one qualified to speak that the All-India Congress Committee honestly believed that the assurances asked for could be given without infringing the Act. We understand that conversations with those outside the Congress entitled to express an opinion had encouraged that belief. Now it is shown that not only do His Majesty's Government declare that such assurances can not be given, but that important Indian law authorities concur in that view. Since that is so, and Mr. Gandhi recognises that there can be honest differences of opinion on the point, the Congress might well drop the demand.

It is big enough to do so. Its majority in five provinces is so large as to defy any substantial challenge. It has a programme of ameliorative activities that will keep it busy for some time, and which, pursued, will enable it to keep its promises with the electorate. No

Governor is going wilfully to interfere with the activities of Congress ministries : any deadlock after the Party has accepted office will surely be on a major issue upon which an appeal to the country would be justified, and agreed to by both the Governor and the Party. And since the Party claims to be democratic in principle and purpose it would not desire to evade such an appeal. The Party would not lose prestige by deciding to abandon this demand for assurances. It has made its reasons known to all concerned, the people, the Government, and its followers. To persist in the demand in the face of Mr. Gandhi's demonstration of its relative unimportance, would be to prejudice its future. To insist upon the formation of a tribunal or arbitration would be to press for the creation of a precedent to which no government can agree, and which might later be most awkward for a Congress Ministry. We still think there is room for frank discussion between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi. We believe that such discussion would resolve the latter's doubts, and cause him to see how unnecessary a tribunal of arbitration is. And if the inhibitions that hedge all governments make an open move by the Viceroy impossible, we hope that Mr. Gandhi will once more prove his bigness, his power to surmount cramping conventionalities, by seeking an opportunity to talk things over with Lord Linlithgow.

THE MAN OF PEACE

From the " Hindustan Times," Delhi

GANDHIJI is essentially a man of peace. There is no conflict in which he had been engaged—his life has been full of them—which he had not tried to avert by every means at his disposal and he always went into it, because there was no other course open to him. Some have mistaken this passionate desire for peace as a sign of weakness, and whispers have not been wanting that his was a spent force and that the country was not behind him to the extent it had been once. But it was not long before such people realised their error and that Gandhiji's willingness to go to the utmost extent possible to avoid a fight, is an expression of his innate strength and his passionate love of his country, and not a sign of weakness. When he started on his now famous Dandi march, there were some who pooh-poohed the idea

of bringing a mighty Government down on its knees, by boiling a kettle of sea water on the shore, but it mattered little that at least one of them happened, at the time, to be a member of the Government of India. He and they lived to be sadder, but we are not so very sure, wiser men. Today, Gandhiji has once again risen to heights of political magnanimity to which few public men rise, in this or any other country, and offered the British Government another opportunity to end the present impasse, a continuance of which would only mean a certain struggle between the Congress and the Government in the near future.

Gandhiji has suggested that the dispute should be referred to an *ad hoc* tribunal composed of one nominee of the Congress, one nominee of the British Government and with a third person appointed by these two whose verdict is to be binding on both parties. No fairer proposal could have been made by one anxious to bring about a settlement and there is absolutely no reason why the Government should not accept it, assuming that the Government, too, do want a settlement, an assumption for which, we confess, there is today scant justification.

GET OUT OF THE LEAGUE!
Instrument of Imperialism

Here are extracts from the speech made by Dr. Bhagavan Das in the Legislative Assembly, Delhi, on April 2, in support of the resolution that India should sever her connection with the League of Nations. The speech was published in full in Indian papers

IT is only because the machinations of the cunning diplomats of the Great Powers, mainly Great Britain and secondly France, have perverted the League that the Indian people no longer wish to remain connected with it in any way.

The League represents the last of the fourteen points suggested by President Wilson for embodiment in the Treaty of Peace between the belligerents in that epidemic of mutual butchery called the Great War. When he toured in the countries of Europe after the Armistice, he was everywhere hailed as the Prince of Peace. But when the Treaty came to be actually drawn up, the Big Ten, and then the Big Four,

and finally the Big Two, namely, the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Lloyd George, and M. Georges Clemenceau, successfully outwitted the simple-hearted, straight-minded idealist, and whittled away thirteen of his points, and left only the last, President Wilson yielded point after point, hoping perhaps to win everything back through his League. His clever colleagues knew better—very clever in their own conceit, but very foolish in the eyes of God, as perhaps the survivor of them, Mr. Lloyd George, is realising now, in view of the greater preparation for a worse Armageddon. Today the general feeling is that the League has become a puppet of Britain and France, instead of the organised moral force of mankind.

Preparations for Butchery

The first Assembly of the League of Nations met in Geneva in November 1920. Over 16 years have gone by since then. The League has deteriorated steadily in effectiveness as a moral force. The Disarmament Conference held by the League proved a fiasco, even as the World Economic Conference held in London proved a fiasco. The military preparedness of the nations for another outbreak of butchery is far greater today than it was before the outbreak of the World War. About a year ago, if I remember rightly, Mr. Lloyd George, in one of his public speeches, bewailing the mad race in armaments of the Powers, but not confessing that it was the consequence of his own excessive cleverness at the time of the framing of the Treaty of Versailles, said that the total of the expenditure of the Great Powers on the armaments was one thousand million pounds a year and that something like thirty million men were employed, as standing armies and reserves, without counting those engaged in the manufacture of arms and munitions.

I was amazed and horrified to read recently that the total of the budgeted military expenditure of the Great Powers for 1936-37, was twenty-five hundred million pounds. One thousand million pounds a year was unbearable and intolerable burden enough for " the workers of the world." But twenty-five hundred million pounds in one year ! If all those thirty million men were properly employed, and all that vast amount of money spent in organising the human race for peace, instead of organising the nations for mutual war, employed and spent in works for promoting the general welfare of mankind, what incalculable blessings would rain upon humanity !

Japan says that if Britain is to hold India as its private property, why should not Japan hold China similarly. " Hands off China ! " Such is the consequence of the malignant example of imperialism set by Britain, and her refusal to help India to establish genuine self-government.

India in particular has nothing to gain from remaining a member of the League, except the contempt of all other nations, the contempt of the British most of all in their heart of hearts, for being the merest catspaw of the British Government, and for paying for the diplomacies of British statesmen at the cost of yet worse privation of the already half-starved and ragged hundreds of millions of our people.

Futile Activities

Instead of being the organised " moral " force of mankind, the League looks on, while the so-called Great Powers—Powers of Evil and Darkness—are becoming organised martial forces, between which, when they clash, India, the humble serf of Britain, will probably be ground to dust. We cannot forget that India lost from war-fever, during four months of 1918, principally because of the drain of her resources to supply the war-requirements of Britain, and her own consequent lack of food and clothing, and the resultant depletion of disease-resisting vital power, over 12 millions of human beings, by the statistics of the Government of India itself—as many as, or more than, were killed in battles in four years of the Great War. We see that instead of teaching peace between the creeds and the nations children of 8, 10, 12 years of age are being trained, in all European countries, in military discipline, are being soaked in war mentality and taught to hate the people of other nations. The League looks on.

Wrong education has dethroned God in Europe and enthroned capitalist Mammon instead ; has given to him, for archangel councillors and ministers, militarist Moloch on his dexter side, and diplomatist Mephisto on his sinister side ; and has provided him with boon companions in the shape of Comus, Momus, and Priapus, the ministers of sensualism, high living, and all that is known as the night-side of the great capitals, the modern Babylons of Europe !

The League consists of courtiers and *durbaris* who enjoy and applaud the cinema-dance and Bacchanalia. It is only by right education—and not by such superficial devices and show of enormous

industry over trivial details, and many processes of whitewashing as the League indulges in, in common with all bureaucracies—that all the ills of mankind can be cured, and all their problems solved, as nearly as is humanly possible to cure and solve them. The League has not been of any help to India in this vital respect.

The League has a Committee on Foods, as the physical basis of life and of civilisation. It has published large books full of minute statistics which I have been looking into, recently. The net result is that cereals, green vegetables, fresh fruits, milk and milk-products are the best foods, and these, together with eggs and certain meats for non-vegetarian folk are solemnly recommended. Now, India has known all this for thousands of years and she needs no advice as to what food to take ; but she needs the food itself, which she produces too, but is deprived of, ruthlessly.

The opium traffic of India with China has decreased ; but, so far as I am aware, the consumption of cocaine and of alcoholic drinks of various kinds, indigenous and foreign, has increased, especially among the students of universities, and among those generally who regard themselves as " educated," to the horror of all those who wish well to the younger and the future generations of India. The Hindu and the Muslim religions say that the drinking of spirituous liquors is one of the five " heinous sins," and the holy *Quran* says : " Intoxicants are the work of the Devil." And yet the British-Indian Government is pursuing diligently the policy of deriving income from this deliberate debauching and degradation of human nature, and while it professes to restrain and regulate the consumption of intoxicants, in practice stimulates it. The League has done nothing to mend the ways of the British-Indian Government in this matter.

If the League is worth the money and the energy spent upon it, and if India were really an independent member of it, the horrible civil war of mutual extermination now going on in Spain would have been impossible ; and the other civil war, now going on in India for the last sixteen years—truly civil, non-violent, on the side of the Indian people, and therefore, perforce, not too violent on the part of the British people, because of the intuitively far-sighted wisdom and philanthropy of our God-given leader, the saintly Man of Peace—this civil war too would have ended in an amicable treaty of honourable inter-dependence between India and Britain long ago.

EGYPT AND THE EMPIRE

by DR. GISELHER WIRSING

From "Münchener Neueste Nachrichten," Munich

BY the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of August, 1936, the Suez Canal zone is to be in English hands for the next twenty years. The British have the right to keep 10,000 soldiers, 400 airmen and a corresponding number of civilian officials there. They may send into the western desert not, it is true, whole units, but officers to study the lay of the land. The English air-arm can use the whole of Egypt for its exercises and all Egyptian aerodromes are at its disposal. Until 1944 Alexandria is to remain an English naval base. Not only will the Egyptian Government erect all barracks on the Canal at its own expense. It will also widen or even rebuild roads and railways in the Nile Delta, including a railway linking up the territory occupied by English forces with Cairo. All this gives the British General Staff important rights and possibilities—possibilities, it may be stressed, which are *legal*.

And yet the aims of the founder of the Wafd, Zaghlul Pasha, have been to a very great extent fulfilled. I cannot believe that the "Treaty" assures England more than a transition period of grace, which may last a long time and even go beyond 1956, the year before which the question of England's troops in Egypt may not be brought up. The Treaty gives away what has in the past been the core of Britain's rule in Egypt as in all Eastern countries, viz. the right of intervention in internal administration. What Clive and Hastings did in India at the end of the eighteenth century has been done again and again in the so-called Empire ; in order to "protect the rights of minorities" the British have filled the internal administrations of their protectorates with their officials or with natives in their pay. The English soon learnt that it was not enough to rely on bayonets. Everywhere in the East they founded an "English Party"—even in the Balfour Declaration the idea was to form the Jews into such a party.

Now that is all over in Egypt. The Egyptians will jealously see to it that their newly acquired independence is not whittled down one iota by foreign intervention in their internal affairs. This is nothing less than a revolution compared with the previous state of

affairs. Before, every Egyptian administration had its English advisers, who were employees of the Egyptian State and whose high salaries did not therefore have to be paid from London. All these officials were in key positions. They will all have to disappear gradually. The first to go will be the advisers on finance and justice. Purely technical officials will remain until there are sufficient trained Egyptians to take their places. But the conditions of all Englishmen who remain have completely changed. Before, they had behind them the Residency, and behind the Residency stood the garrison. Today they have only the Embassy at their back.

The Glory has Departed

The first Englishman I spoke with in the country was an engineer on the Egyptian railways. "Seventeen years," he said, "I have been in my job. Now they (the Egyptians) have got their Treaty. I have been here as long as anybody. They've extended my contract for another three years. But I already know the man who's going to replace me. He has just come back from Brussels University. Yes, they've got their Treaty alright. I suppose it's better for England that we should live in friendship with this people. But who cares what becomes of us?" This sort of thing I often heard. Once the British official alone made decisions, now he has to get the signature of a Bey or a Pasha, who makes it quite clear that he is in charge now. All this makes for a new psychological situation. It is only just beginning. When it is complete it will be seen that a hundred English troops before the change were politically and psychologically worth more than perhaps a thousand will be in future. I saw very few young Englishmen. Almost all I saw were Tommies, and their rowdy behaviour in a land where alcohol is forbidden by religious ordinance was not exactly good propaganda for England.

Let us take a glance at Capitulations, the abrogation of which will restore to Egypt her judicial and financial sovereignty.* England herself was not particularly interested in capitulations. It was international capital which reaped the greatest advantages from them. But in capitulations England held the trump card. She could play off French, Greek and even Italian capital interests against the Egyptians whenever she liked, without ever appearing on the scene herself. After Montreux all this will be over. That is why it seems

* *Since this article was written Capitulations have been ended by Treaty at Montreux (May 8).*

to me that the military clauses of the Treaty in the long run give England less than the other terms give Egypt. It ought not to be forgotten that the whole of the East, from Morocco to the Far East, is carefully watching to see the results of this Treaty for Egypt.

It would be wrong to imagine that the Egyptians, now that they have their Treaty, want to have as little as possible to do with the British. The ruling class—and the Wafd—will do all in its power to establish a friendly relationship with England.

The Egyptians regard the next decades as a transition period and are wise enough not to rush the development. It would be wrong to characterise the alliance established by the Treaty as a farce. If I say that Egypt has ceased to have the status of a veiled Crown Colony and has acquired that of a Dominion, that is not, of course, legally correct. No Egyptian would put it thus, but it is not far from the actual truth. Just as in the real British dominions, British power is looked upon as a protection. Foreign policy is adjusted to this outlook. A land at the pivot of three continents is in practice always threatened. That must not be overlooked.

British influence in Egypt rests on yet another pillar : economic entanglement with England. Lord Cromer it was who made cotton-growing Egypt's one industry and thus made her dependent on export trade. Of a total export trade (in the last few years) of about 30 million pounds, 26 millions have been cotton. England has been the greatest purchaser with £10 million, France, Germany, Japan and Italy follow far behind. From the Egyptian side it was pointed out to me that the possibility of England's concluding with Egypt preferential economic agreement was not ruled out. Does that mean that Egypt will become a partner to the Ottawa agreements ? Complete internal freedom, an alliance and an economic agreement with England—what is that but Dominion status in fact, if not in name ?

KINDNESS WEEK

One of the instructions for Kindness Week, now in progress in Paris, is " give Englishmen their daily bath ! " The instructions point out that French citizens must be clean, tidy, and on their best behaviour for the International Exhibition. It is stated that among the foreigners visiting Paris, there will be English, who take baths every day ; Americans, who change their shirts every day ; Italians, who are fined if they walk about in torn clothes ; Dutch, who shine like casseroles ; and Germans, who are polished like swords.—*Evening Standard, London*

BELGIUM TRUE TO THE LEAGUE

by EMIL VANDERVELDE (Socialist Leader)

From " La Dépêche de Toulouse "

The new agreement made by France and Britain with Belgium, under which the first two guarantee Belgium against aggression, but do not, as in the old Locarno, receive any reciprocal guarantee from that country, gave rise to misgivings (here declared unfounded) about Belgium's attitude towards France and the League

SOME people think they see in Belgium " dissent from collective action," a tendency to detach herself from France, and even from England and the League of Nations, in order to follow a new policy, the final goal of which would be a return to neutrality guaranteed, as in pre-war days, not only by the big western democracies, but by fascist Germany and Italy.

In point of fact, the only thing that has altered in the Belgian attitude towards France is that, in the days of Poincaré, the middle classes, at least in the Walloon country, let slip no opportunity of proclaiming their ardent pro-French sympathies ; while today, in the era of Leon Blum's France, the France of the Franco-Soviet pact, it is the conservatives who are most determined that the right of the Belgians to have a policy of complete independence be recognised.

But, let me repeat, all this changes nothing, can never change the permanent aspects of our national policy. In no way does it denote a breakaway from France. Still less a desire to gravitate towards Germany.

For ninety Belgians out of a hundred the *entente* with France and Great Britain still remains the corner-stone of Belgium's very existence. The often exaggerated anxiety of most of them to " keep out of it," to exercise an " integrally Belgian " policy—in a word, to bury themselves in a hole at the approach of an international conflict—has, nevertheless, the corrective (emphasised by the social democrats and others) of a proven attachment to the principles of collective security and mutual assistance consecrated by the League of Nations Covenant.

It was, moreover, just this point that France and England wished to stress in their note of April 25, by drawing attention to the Belgian Government's renewed assurance of fidelity to the League of Nations Covenant, and the concomitant obligations of its members.

It is fully understood that such a formula has no margin of elasticity. It is, perhaps, surprising that, after twenty years, the interpretation of Articles 15 and 16 of the Covenant concerning sanctions, right of passage and common action, should give rise to controversy.

But, without sharing the secrets of the gods, one has a right to suppose that neither France nor the United Kingdom have undertaken to guarantee Belgium, without complete knowledge of the way Belgium means to fulfil her obligations in any given eventuality.

The further developments of Belgian policy still, of course, remain to be seen, and we will take good care not to prejudge them. But the question that presents itself is essentially this : will Belgium, by the side of England and France, her guarantors, remain an active and loyal member of the League of Nations, along with the other free nations that comprise the League ? Or will she, by a series of subtle evasions, slacken her ties with the League (as some people hope) and obtain guarantees for a neutrality—that strangely resembles her pre-war neutrality—not only from her actual guarantors, but also from States that have left the League of Nations, or that only remain there to work its destruction from within ?

In all good faith, I can say that to doubt the attitude of the Belgium Government would be a gratuitous insult.

At all events, it is quite clear that if such a policy should ever be attempted, the democrats and the socialists would circumvent it with all the energy at their disposal.

CONVICT PATRIOTS

Three hundred and seventy-seven inmates of a prison near Nanking have abstained from all food for twenty-four hours in order to be able to make a modest gift of money to the Chinese Government. In a telegram announcing their "sacrifice," the prisoners insist on the fact that, although deprived of liberty, they remain good citizens—*L'Ere Nouvelle, Paris.*

THREE AGES OF MAN

Progress of a great man : (1) Quits shining his own shoes. (2) Quits writing his own letters. (3) Quits writing his own speeches.—*Buffalo (N.Y.) News.*

HEEP — HEARING

HE
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ISPECTOR
AKES TO
-RAYS

Aha! And
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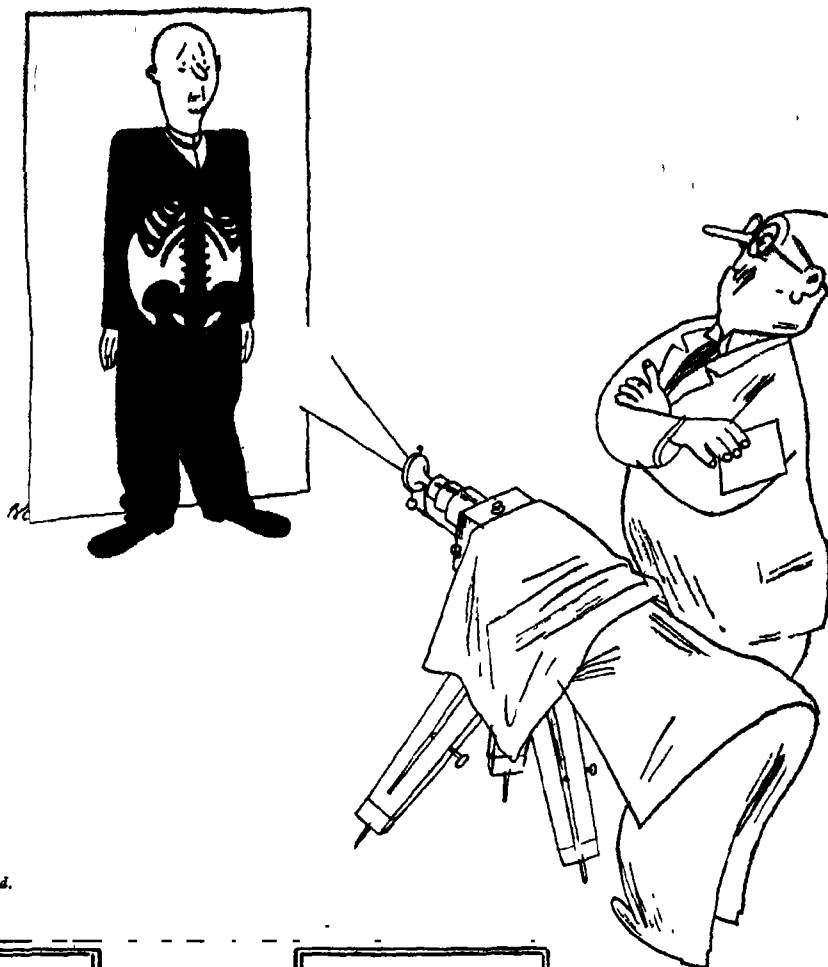
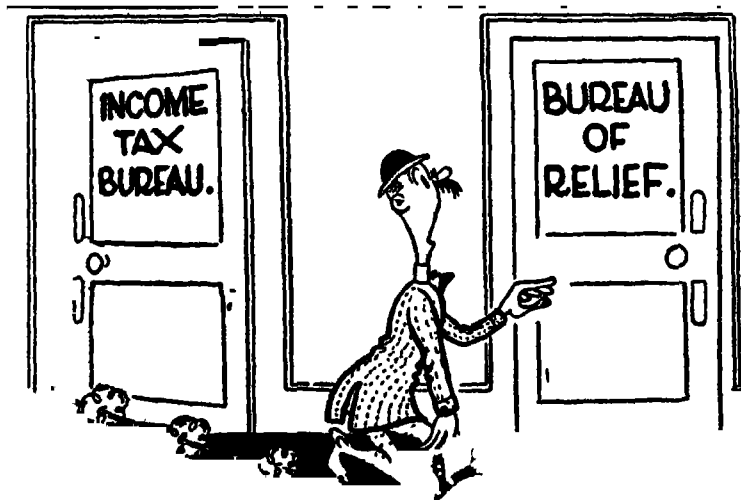
omach . . . .
Vhere did you
:t that from?"

"Nebelspalter," Switzerland.

BUREAUCRACY

"Dublin Opinion."

EAST OF SUEZ ~

CHINA'S STRUGGLE FOR UNITY

Extracts from the Manifesto of the Third Plenary Session of the Kuo-Min-Tang, China's Government, February, 1937

IN his doctrine of Nationalism our Tsung-li (Dr. Sun Yat-Sen) clearly impressed upon us the causes of national difficulties. He also pointed the way to self-salvation and self-development of strength. Since September 18, 1931, amidst the most trying experiences, we have been adhering to Tsung-li's teachings in an attempt to find a way out for our nation.

In the manifesto of the Fifth National Congress of the Kuo-Min-Tang, November, 1935, it was stated that in the face of the gravity of the national crisis we must handle the situation by following Tsung-li's teachings—that a determined man is master of his fate, and that while self-reliance means existence, dependence on others means extinction. We shall not forsake peace until there is no hope for peace. If our country is driven to the last extremity, thus making sacrifice inevitable, we shall be determined to make the sacrifice.

Even when we are driven to armed resistance in the event that our rights are violated beyond tolerance, we shall only be fighting in self-defence and not because of anti-foreignism.

Consequently there is no conflict between our determination to make the supreme sacrifice and our desire for peace. If there is still hope for peace we shall still be willing to continue our efforts in working for a preliminary readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations on the basis of equality, reciprocity and mutual respect of each other's territorial integrity, so as to deprive bandits and puppets of their present reliance on external force and to respect the administrative and territorial integrity of China.

Thus, even if all pending issues are not solved, it will at last bring into operation the spirit of settling international disputes by peaceful means.

Domestically, the achievement of internal unity through peaceful means has been the guiding principle of the whole nation throughout recent years. It is only through unity that China can become a modern nation, equal to the task of saving herself. Only through peace can there be genuine solidarity.

There is one point, however, which we must emphasize, which is the difference between unity through peace and cessation of civil war. The immediate object of the former is to concentrate the entire nation's strength in tiding over the present national crisis. Its ultimate aim is to enable the nation to set out on the road of the principle of democracy.

In view of the totality of the State, it is clear that the governing power is an indivisible entity, especially in military affairs, diplomacy, finance, and communications. Matters of national defence have to be controlled and directed by the Central Government because the existence of independent military units will only result in an inferior organ which will surely be eliminated from the international community.

Again, in view of the unity of the nation, we know that as citizens of China we share each other's joys and sorrows. Even when there are differences between individuals and organizations, because of differences in their occupations, the interests of the nation as a whole must remain over and above those of individuals and organizations.

Crimes of the Communists

As to the Communistic elements, although they have recently appropriated the slogan "resistance against foreign aggression," past experience shows us that since 1924—when they were admitted to the Kuo-Min Tang to participate in the revolution—they have been working subversively against its cause rather than for it.

Since 1927, they have been employing terroristic methods to endanger the safety of the Republic, thus undermining the strength of the nation, which otherwise would have been employed in resisting alien invasion. They have also caused untold loss of life and destruction of property of the people.

Because of their innumerable crimes, it is impossible to take their word at its face-value.

No matter what formula we may adopt, our cardinal policy must be to eradicate the Communist scourge by our own efforts and to lay the foundation for national rejuvenation.

The organisation and training of the masses, so that they can take part in the stupendous task of national reconstruction, is a duty that lies with the Kuo-Min-Tang.

The adoption of the Constitution will not only give concrete expression to the unity and solidarity of the people, *but will also lay* the foundation for the principle of the people's rights.

The completion of genuine unification of the nation must await the realisation of economic unity. At this juncture, when the nation is devoting its whole energy to the task of national salvation, the enhancement of the nation's vitality necessarily depends on the strengthening of the people's economic power.

Therefore economic reconstruction is important and the pressing task of unfolding that programme must be based on Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Principle of the People's Livelihood. Marxist theories came from social pathologists and not from social physiologists.

In this connection it must be emphasised that social progress can be made possible only by harmony of the majority of economic interests. Certainly it cannot come from a conflict between them.

Only Poor and Poorer

Class-warfare is a disease which may occur during the process of social progress. It is a preventable disease, however, and we need not and should not sit back waiting for its occurrence. What merits special reiteration is that, in view of her present position, China must seek to solve her economic problems realistically and not be moved by mythical ideals and empty theories. One noticeable fact about China today is the prevalence of poverty. The so-called disparity between rich and poor is really non-existent in China, the only difference being between those who are extremely poor and those who are a little better off. With a view to preventing future troubles, China's economic problems should be sought in equalisation of land and restriction of private capital.

All these are definite policies for China to follow in her economic reconstruction. China has become poor under the double impact of foreign encroachment and the backwardness in productivity. If class-warfare should be introduced into China, externally it would sap the nation's vitality to the point of national destruction, while domestically it would bring about a free-for-all struggle among the various productive factors, thus hindering further progress in production and reconstruction. As a final outcome, it would reduce those of us who are not extremely poor to dire poverty and those who are already extremely poor to the point of death.

Thus, when her fate is in the balance, China finds it necessary not only to strengthen her national defence system, but also to launch punitive campaigns against bandits. During these campaigns, aside from military operations and political activities, the Government has also found it imperative to turn its efforts to improving the lot of the peasants.

Help for the Peasants

Toward this end, numerous exorbitant and miscellaneous taxes have been abolished to mitigate the peasants' hardships, and agricultural institutes have been established to help improve farming technique. Furthermore, special organs have been set up to facilitate the transportation and distribution of farm products, farmers' banks and co-operative societies have been organized to provide financial facilities to the rural community. Meanwhile various conservancy and afforestation projects have been launched to forestall natural calamities.

All these measures have, as their common objective, the augmentation of the farmers' productive power, which is a prerequisite to realisation of the principles that those who till the land should also own it.

Much of the wanton destruction wrought by Communistic elements during the last few years was done in farming villages. Not only has agricultural development been retarded, but similar disaster has visited native handicrafts.

Even light industries in Shanghai, which represent practically the only fruit of decades of efforts on the part of native industrialists, have not been immune from the influence of the Communists, who by means of subversive propaganda and secret organisation have intensified class-hostility among the workers.

Our Tsung-li well said that the surplus value of any industrial enterprise was not created by the labour of workmen alone. Rather is it the fruit to which all useful and capable members of society contribute, either directly or indirectly. These useful and capable persons constitute a majority of the people.

Our Tsung-li's view had been made unmistakably clear. If the spirit of class-warfare should be injected into the workers, it will necessarily antagonise all except the workmen themselves, and the work of other useful and capable members of society will be nullified.

For instance, take the native capitalists. They have been struggling during the last decades at great odds against foreign capitalists, who are superior both in financial resources and technical proficiency. They have to resort to the most economical methods in order to remain solvent. Often owners are forced to spend much time in trying to obtain loans with which to keep their factories going. Once they fail they have to declare themselves bankrupt, and their plants must close.

There have been many cases like this. The fighting spirit of the Chinese capitalists and their hardships have aroused the sympathy of many who are familiar with their difficulties. How could one be so heartless as to seek their downfall? For this would be tantamount to retarding the development of all new and infant industries, and at the same time would also mean a similar fate for the workers.

For the sake of future economic reconstruction in China, all native industries must be duly protected, and when Governmental control is imperative, such control will only be instituted for their existence and development.

As to other industries which operate on a large scale, or those which, because of their very nature, can be best run by the Government or others, being beyond the capacity of private capital to undertake, the Government should take necessary steps to develop State capital so that it can adequately fulfil its responsibilities to the nation.

Currency reform and financial stability, as effected since the Second Plenary Session have already proved their benefit to the economic reconstruction movement. The present Session should seek its further development with the greatest determination and the best of efforts possible.

JAPAN FEARS CHINESE REDS

by HOTSUMI OZAKI

From "Contemporary Japan," Tokyo

THE movement for racial emancipation in China is now in full swing after having been accentuated by the Manchurian incident of September, 1931, the agitation having recently been identified with

what is known as the " Anti-Japanese Save-the-Nation Movement " associated with the " Popular Front Movement."

Now, China's Popular Front movement seems to be under the virtual direction of the Chinese Communist Party which has ever since the Manchurian incident been clamouring for the organisation of a militia to fight Japan. Moreover, the Comintern Congress held in Moscow in the summer of 1935 stressed the need of a unified anti-Imperialistic front in all countries, especially in colonies and dependencies. Accordingly the Chinese Communist Party proposed the organisation of a National Defence Government and co-operation with the Kuomintang Army. As a result, many men of the Kuomintang's Nanking Government and Army now have come to favour co-operating with the Russian as well as the Chinese Communist Party. Also apparent is the increasing trend for students, labourers, businessmen, philosophers, lawyers and intelligent women to support the Popular Front proposals.

When these facts are taken into consideration, it becomes evident that the Sian* incident seemed to offer a golden opportunity for the Red Army to take a leading rôle in Chinese politics.

The Popular Front movement, however, has been rather impeded than helped by the Sian incident. For the Kuomintang is apparently planning to strengthen its position along the lines of a National Front in opposition to the Popular Front movement, even at the risk that such action may estrange the party from the mass of people and also possibly make difficult the consummation of national unification which has long been its chief professed concern.

But nobody can deny the dangerous possibilities of the situation particularly to Sino-Japanese relations. A China moving to the Left, and that is what it amounts to, promises us more trouble than ever. But there is nothing much we can do about it. In Japan's relations with China, no radical reform is to be achieved merely through revision of diplomatic methods. Until China disposes of her present position as a quasi-colonial nation, upon which fact are based all dealings with her, Sino-Japanese relations cannot be expected to be readjusted so as to satisfy the Chinese public. The Chinese movement for racial emancipation is essentially irreconcilable

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* *The incident in which General Chiang-Kai-Shek was held prisoner by the leader of the army which was supposed to be fighting the Chinese Communist forces.*

with Japan's continental policy. Moreover, the Nanking regime is far from being capable of directing and controlling this racial movement, although the National Government is apparently being supported by it. These facts surely became apparent when the Sino-Japanese conversations at Nanking, which Japan initiated in September last year, reached a deadlock after three months.

Frankly speaking, that failure was due to the weakness of both negotiators. On the one hand, the Nanking leaders could neither ignore nor control the movement for racial emancipation in its various manifestations which have been analysed above. Nor could they ignore their growing dependence on the Western Powers. On the other hand, Japan's continental policy was being prevented from making its positive drive by domestic difficulties and by the Chinese racial movement with which obviously she does not want to come into frontal clash.

And diplomacy cannot change these facts. It is probable that to counteract the effect of " Popular Front " influence Japan's China policy will in the near future take a conciliatory turn, and support Nanking in sticking to the old slogans of " Unification " and " Peace Within First." The optimistic school of observers will then rejoice. They will probably be as little justified as those of the other school who proclaim Chinese disunity permanent because it has lasted a long time. But at any rate we shall have a chance of seeing how far Nanking, when externally unembarrassed, is able to progress with the unification movement.

A NEW USE FOR VOLCANOES

The *Telegraaf* publishes an account of the plans of the Italian engineer Cardini, who died recently, for the industrial utilisation of the gases of Vesuvius. Cardani left behind detailed notes with calculations of the quantity and composition of these gases. According to him, the energy of the gases is so great that if they were used as fuel Italy's coal consumption would be greatly reduced. Cardani left behind him exact details of the possibilities of industrial exploitation of Vesuvius' gases ; these are now being carefully examined, and will be given practical tests at the earliest possible moment.—*Berliner Tageblatt.*

OF COURSE

MIKE—" Phwat d'ye do wid trousers when ye wear thim out ? "
PAT—" Wear thim home again."—*Daily Herald, London.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs. Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible

HERE'S A PLAN!

Sir—Your Competition No. 2 came to my notice just too late for entry. Perhaps in the interests of world peace, I may be allowed to submit my plan.

My suggestion is that at the next League conference, Mr. Eden should step into the rostrum and as a member of the League hotly denounce the leading Empires. At the conclusion of his speech, he will change his bow-tie for an old-school tie, and announce with all the wealth of rhetoric at his command that as the representative of the British Empire he refuses to give up one square yard of soil, nay, one grain of sand, for which countless Englishmen have shed rivers of blood, and on which depends the honour and glory of England.

The members of the League will then consult, and appoint England as the strong arm which is to wrench from England the surplus of her colonies for the benefit of less fortunate nations. Perhaps the most convenient arrangement will be for England to be the servant of the League on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and the scapegoat on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. Sunday will be kept as a day of rest and mental equilibration.

For example, on Monday London crowds will demonstrate outside Westminster, calling for sanctions on the greedy Imperialist nation which defies the League. On Tuesday, pale but firm, Englishmen will declare their intention to resist to the last drop of blood any attempt to break up the Empire. On Wednesday the fleet will be mobilised and ordered to blockade the coast of England. On Thursday the fleet will be remobilised and ordered to resist any attempts at blockade. On Friday all Englishmen will be exhorted to boycott England. On Saturday England will tighten its belt and prepare to withstand any attempt at boycotting by Englishmen. On Sunday there will be prayers for a speedy end to this distressing conflict. On Monday rejoicing crowds will celebrate the victory of the blockading fleet, the complete disappearance of its enemy. On Tuesday rejoicing crowds will celebrate the victory of the guardian fleet and the complete disappearance of the blockaders. And so on.

In this manner both sides will save face at little or no cost, and if in the end the Empire yields—well, to whom has it yielded unless to 100 per cent. Englishmen? No shame to itself in such defeat, and double laurels for such a victory?

On one point great care must be taken, namely the exact synchronisation of all timepieces, lest some inexact person, roaring the wrong slogan through the midnight streets, might be seized and lynched by a justly incensed mob of zealots

I do not believe that the most strict examination will find any flaw in this plan.

R. C. Wilkinson.

Aba, S. Nigeria.

S. AFRICA AND THE EMPIRE

Sir,—Do those who advocate the return to Germany of, for example, Tanganyika, realise that an official

threat to do so might cause the break-up of the British Empire in Africa?

If, a few years ago, a referendum had been taken in East Africa to get the opinion of the white communities on the return to Germany of Tanganyika, the answer would have been in the negative, but there would have been a very large body of opinion in favour of the return of at any rate the greater part of Tanganyika. Now, however, since the rise of Herr Hitler and the revival of German militarism there would hardly be a vote in favour of return. There is no dislike of the Germans as a people. It is their form of government and its objects that are suspected and disliked.

No Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary, or Colonial Secretary has yet made a clear statement to the effect that under no circumstances will Britain return Tanganyika to Germany. And until this is done the feeling of solidarity between the British possessions in Africa and the South African Union will steadily grow.

Up till recently there have been two factors which have made the white communities in the British possessions outside the Union averse to closer relations with the Union. These are, firstly, the dual language policy of South Africa, and, secondly, the South African native policy.

The first difficulty is not insurmountable, and does not affect the respect in which the responsible South African leaders, whatever their birth, are held by the British communities in other parts of Africa. The second difficulty also is not insurmountable, certainly not in East Africa The settler considers that the good relations which exist between black and white in East Africa are due to his opinions on native policy as much as to the official policy, which almost invariably receives his support where the advancement of the native is concerned.

It needs, therefore, only one outstanding question of mutual interest to unite with the Union of South Africa every British community in Central and Eastern Africa.

Are those in England who support Germany's claims for the return of her colonies prepared to buy the friendship of an insecure dictatorship at the price of a struggle for the formation of a United States of Africa with the Union at its head?

J. F. Lipscomb.

Kinangop, Kenya.

AS STRONG AS EVER

Sir,—It is becoming the opinion o numerous Europeans that the British Empire is breaking up, and people on the continent are saying that the recent abdication of King Edward VIII is one of the signs that their words on the decay of the Empire are correct But on this point they have been deceived. The abdication should have showed Europe that the foundations of the British Empire are still strong; because what is a better test of the strength of a nation than the abdication of its Monarch?

This Dominion is as firm in its allegiance to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth as it was to our late Sovereign and Queen Mary. The turmoil of an abdication has not shattered our faith in the Crown.

Mussolini refers to Britain as being an "old woman," and Russia paints pictures of Portugal and other small countries shielded by Britain's skirts, but it remains to be seen in the next few years whether Britain and the Empire is doomed to die a natural death like past great Empires. This is where Mussolini and Hitler will be wrong;

other Empires fell because they were held together through force, but there are no ties like that with the British Empire, and that is the main reason why the break-up of our Empire is a long way off.

Now that Britain is on the way to power again she will be a leading bulwark for peace in the world ; because of her might she will again become dominant, and he who dares to make her fight will have a worthy antagonist.

JACK DAVIDSON.

Clyde, New Zealand.

END OF CIVILISATION

SIR,—Perhaps A. A. Milne* will kindly carry his realism a little further, and say what exactly he and those whom he quotes mean by " the end of civilisation." Do they mean the end of poison gas ? the end of bombs ? the end of aeroplanes ? the end of wireless telephony ? the end of moving pictures ? the end of motor cars ? the end of the telephone ? the end of the telegraph ? the end of the steam engine ? the end of the machine ? the end of war ? the reign of righteousness and peace ? If so, the next war might not be a very bad thing.

Glasgow. ROBERT MOODY.

* *WORLD REVIEW, April*, 1937

SOVIET SAUSAGES PERFORM

A PROGRAMME entitled " Abundance " is to be given to-morrow night at the Profintern Club of the First Moscow Meat Combinat. Amateur artists, dressed to resemble frankfurters, sausages and meats of all kinds, will appear in solo, duet, quartet and larger groups, to demonstrate in song, recitation and sketch the enormous achievements of the Soviet meat industry.—*Moscow Daily News.*

WORLD REVIEW COMPETITION

Result of Competition No. 4

IN this competition we asked for imaginary letters of recommendation for the post of doorkeeper to the League of Nations building in the 1950's, to be written (1) by the Negus for Mussolini ; (2) by Mr. Winston Churchill for Hitler ; (3) by Dr. Goebbels for Stalin ; (4) by Britain's Dictator of the 1950's for Mr. Baldwin. Most entries favoured the first and last of these choices, and Signor Mussolini's abilities as a chucker-out were pointed out by several.

First Prize

As Leader of the British Soviet Empire, I can heartily recommend Comrade (formerly " Earl ") Baldwin as a skilful upholder of out-of-date institutions. As such he should prove admirably suited as a museum-, or door-, keeper for the League of Nations In spite of his advanced age, he still shows great agility in escaping from tight corners. His only bad point is that, since the unsealing of his lips, which took place at a public ceremony some twenty years ago, he has become garrulous in his reminiscences of pre-Soviet Britain and the writings of the obscurer bourgeois authors of his day. Visitors to Geneva may, however, be amused by his talk, since " literature " has been abolished and the only one book which is now published is the State Book of the Month chosen by Literary Commissar Gollancz. Also, since the disappearance of the last King from Europe, we note an unhealthy interest in all details about the old royalties, and Comrade Baldwin's stories of his days as " Kingmaker " will undoubtedly prove popular.

Signed : IVAN STRACHEYSKI,
Father of the British Peoples,
Leader of the Soviet Empire.

P. Grant.

Second Prize

I hereby guarantee Mr. Stanley Baldwin to be non-corrosive and capable of standing on the same spot for at least twenty years. Good at propping things up (*vide The One-time ' National ' Government*—Shaw). Can safely promise he would bring no disquieting element into peaceful backwater of your retreat.

Would keep all midges and other pests out of park with his grand old briar, assuring undisturbed afternoon nap for League delegates. Himself proof against bites of all kinds : so tough even the Lion of Judah couldn't bite him 'way back in 1936 ! Fine example of the Colonel's British Bull-Dog, G R.R. (rtd.: very much rtd !)

When I send Mosley up for his holiday next year it would please him no end to see dread-nought Stanley " sticking " to his " post " and still " backing-up " the League ! *Signed :* CROMWELL II.

Betty Greenwood.

COMPETITION NO. 6

THE Mgungo of Mbopo, hereditary chieftain of the Mzubu tribes of Central Africa (who is now staying at Glenpeffer, the lovely Highland home of the Duke of Inverpeffer), was one of our most distinguished and picturesque guests at the Coronation. Soon after his arrival, the Mgungo attended a debate on Non-Intervention in the House of Commons, and his Highness was so impressed that he wrote a short (for the Mgungo is more at home with the sword than with the pen) but vivid letter to his brother in Mzubu, containing his impressions. We offer a first prize of one guinea, and a second prize of any book costing up to half-a-guinea among those advertised or noticed in WORLD REVIEW recently, for the best version of his Highness's letter (not over 150 words). Entries must be received by July 5.

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

U.S.S.R.

OCCUPYING one-sixth of the globe under every climate from arctic to subtropical, bounded by two oceans and many seas, and with a population of over 170 millions, the Soviet Union has something of interest to offer every kind of traveller. Quite apart from the student of the conditions and progress of the tremendous experiment that New Russia represents, there are countless other facets that repay the traveller's attention.

In the regions of Art, Moscow presents a completely new experience to the theatre-goer and the *balletomane*. Apart from the excellent performances given at the large theatres which have already achieved world-wide fame, where every type of classical and modern play, opera and ballet are given, there are other theatres of a particularly new sort: *e.g.*, the Children's Theatre and the Young People's Theatre. Besides which, every district has its own playhouse, the spontaneous expression of each separate community, by which system many entertainments of an exotic and unique order are open to the visitor, such as the theatres of Georgia Kazakstan, Usbekistan Turkmenistan, the Tartars and the Ukrainians The most remarkable o all, perhaps, is the Jewisl Theatre, where Shakespeare and other classic of long standing are acte in Yiddish to an audienc which is, except for th casual visitor, entirel Semitic

For the traveller wh would wander furthe afield, Russia is probabl richer than any othe country in wild an picturesque scenery, an if he takes his gun wit him, the Azerbaijan alone offers game (every shape and size, from the gentl partridge to the tiger, the leopard and th grizzly bear. But if he is of a more pacifi nature, the melancholy steppe of th central plains, the forests and snows (Siberia and the mountains of Ural and th Caucasus are of an unsurpassable beaut As each year goes by, the remotest regior of the U.S.S.R. are becoming accessib to the wanderer, and even now, th Soviet travel agencies are willing an ready to help the traveller who woul plan his wanderings off the beate track of the usual conducted tours.

The year 1937 is a jubilee year for the Soviet Union; it is the twentieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, and is intended to sum up "the vast and significant achievements" of the Second Five-Year-Plan.

This important anniversary will be celebrated by special festivals which will afford the tourist even better opportunities than usual of becoming acquainted with the vast territories of Soviet Russia.

Travel to Russia is simple. You go to Intourist and they do the rest for you. They offer you three classes of service in the U.S.S.R. There is the first, or Luxury class, which gives you the best Russia has and costs you £3 a day during your stay. There is the Tourist, or "Soft" class, at £1 15s. a day, and the third, or "Hard" class, at £1 a day.

The tours arranged by Intourist last anything from five days to one month. A typical 14-day tour takes you from Leningrad to Moscow, Moscow to Kharkov, from there to Kiev and on to Odessa, the Black Sea port, whence you get a boat through the Mediterranean to Marseilles.

Before entering Russia you do not need to commit yourself regarding the exact itinerary or duration of your tour. You may purchase an "open tour" for any number of days at the same cost as the arranged tours. Wherever Intourist service is available it is at your disposal.

The main overland route to Moscow is *via* Berlin and Warsaw, and to Leningrad *via* Berlin and Riga. The Air Service, too, goes *via* Berlin. From London to Moscow is fifteen flying hours with a night spent in Berlin, and the return fare is £35. There are many different lines which run boats to Leningrad, some *via* Sweden, others direct. Soviet boats travel direct from London to Leningrad through the Kiel Canal. First class fare is nearly £23 return, tourist class nearly £18 and third class exactly £11.

GUNS OR CARS?

by CAPTAIN G. E. T. EYSTON

THE world's mad armaments race has already begun to hit motoring hard. The industry and users are alike affected by the rise in costs, and in some cases, the growing difficulty of obtaining supplies.

We must pay more for our petrol and very soon, I fear, we shall have to pay more for our cars It is significant that a new model of a popular British car should have been announced a few weeks ago at very appreciably higher prices than the model it supersedes. It is a better car, but only in circumstances of absolute necessity would the makers have resorted to heavy marking up of prices.

As yet few other makers have announced increases. Increases must come, however. Not only is a general rise in prices now inevitable, according to the managing director of one well-known concern, but these increases will be "more substantial than most of us think." Still more gloomy is his warning that the bigger companies with large outputs will be the most severely hit, and that the popular economy models will show the greatest proportionate rise in prices.

Rising prices are unfortunate enough, but a more sinister aspect of the present situation is the possible threat of a serious check to production owing to

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shortage of essential raw materials. That particular sword has been dangling over the heads of the motor industry for some time past So far, however, it has remained an unfulfilled threat

British production figures for the first five months of the motor year, from October to February, inclusive, show a substantial improvement month by month, compared with a year ago Further, the rate of increase appears so far to be accelerating. Our car exports for the first three months of the year are also substantially up, both in numbers and value, on those of the same period last year.

It would be an ill wind, indeed, if no section of the motor industry derived benefit from its present situation The used car industry (for it is an industry within the industry) seems likely to be the gainer by any increase in new car prices. This is not merely so much extra lining for the dealers' pockets. Any appreciable improvement in used car prices should result in improved standards of quality, since it should further encourage the system, now widely adopted by big dealers, of reconditioning their used models before resale.

The old conception of a second-hand car as a crock that might collapse within the next half-mile dies hard. Very high standards of reliability are now maintained by the bigger and more reputable concerns in the trade. Guarantees corresponding with the original makers' guarantee are a commonplace.

A flourishing trade in used cars is an essential corollary to good business with new cars. It is with used cars, possibly more than with new ones, that motor ownership is most likely to extend—and that is good business for millions who, in one capacity or another, have a part in what has become one of the biggest industries in the country.

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

AN AGGRESSOR'S CONFESSIONS

ANNO XIII : THE CONQUEST OF AN EMPIRE. By Emilio de Bono. *Cresset Press.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by AYLMER VALLANCE

JUDGED, from the standpoint of a Dictator impatient to secure a more "vigorous rhythm," as an over-cautious commander in the field, Marshal de Bono may or may not have merited the summary recall which was his portion at Mussolini's hands after his capture of Makallé in November, 1935. The point is immaterial. What is material is that in his incautiously candid account of Italy's preparations for a naked war of conquest in Abyssinia, he has defined the aggressor with more damning certainty than any judgment of the League's.

His book reveals how he was sent by Mussolini to Eritrea on a reconnoitring mission as early as 1932. He returned, reported to the Duce that, in order to develop fully the resources of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, "it would be necessary to abolish the vital inconvenience" of having these two colonies separated by Abyssinia. Mussolini agreed. "Though nothing had as yet been settled as regards the character and method of a possible campaign against the probable enemy," de Bono obtained the Duce's promise that he should have the honour of conducting the war when it came. "From this moment the Duce was definitely of the opinion that the matter would have to be settled no later than 1936, and he told me as much."

Thenceforward Marshal de Bono's story becomes one of active planning for war. Communications from Massawa up-country had to be drastically improved, water supplies enlarged, landing-grounds for aircraft established, and provision in general made for the reception and supply of a huge expeditionary force. Concurrently dissension had to be sown among the Abyssinian *Rases* by Italian agents plentifully supplied with funds On his role as chief organiser of this preparatory stage of the campaign, de Bono dilates with the senile self-complacency of the typical retired general *en pantoufles*.

On the Abyssinian side, he admits, there was no provocation. Incivility was occasionally shown to Italian travellers, but "peremptory demands for satisfaction" were always met. No matter. By December, 1934, when the Wal-Wal "incident" was provoked, Mussolini had personally compiled, and issued in five "very secret" copies, the "Directions and Plan of Action for the

solution of the Italo-Abyssinian question." Originally the idea was that the Abyssinians could be incited into taking some hostile action which would serve as a pretext for a "defensive war," to be followed by a counter-offensive. The Negus, however, could not be so crudely trapped; and in March, 1935, by which time de Bono had become Commander-in-Chief of the forces in East Africa, Mussolini wrote that Italy would be "obliged to take the initiative of the operations at the end of October or September," with a force much greater than that hitherto contemplated The Marshal comments sadly on the perversity of the League Powers, on the difficulty of transporting an army through the Suez Canal without exciting the Abyssinians' suspicions, and on the difficulties of the position in which he would have been placed if Italy's supplies of petrol had been stopped by League action.

In August, 1935, Mussolini wired: "Conference came to no conclusions. Geneva will do the same. Make an end." Marshal de Bono did his best. On October 3 the Italian expeditionary force invaded Abyssinia. But unhappily for the veteran commander, who would dearly have liked to finish the conquest which he had initiated, the pace of the advance—surprisingly rapid as it seemed to most military observers, in view of the difficulties of the terrain—did not satisfy the fiery temperament of the master mind at Rome. On November 17 Marshal de Bono was relieved of his command, and Marshal Badoglio was appointed as his successor. Even so he has not wholly failed to carry out literally his imperious "leader's" behest. He was not allowed to "make an end" of the Abyssinian campaign; but his revealing book—no line of which suggests any sense of recognition that its author was leading participant in a glaring breach of international morality—has effectively "made an end" of Italy's innocence in the matter of the Abyssinian war.

THROUGH A GLASS DARKLY

ALLAH DETHRONED. By Lilo Linke. *Constable.* 15*s*.

Reviewed by THE SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH

ON reading *Allah Dethroned* one feels reminded of two lines:

> "Two men looked out through the same bars,
> *One saw the mud, the other the stars.*"

Several of the author's experiences belie the title. On one occasion, for instance, she seems to have been impressed by the deep religious feelings displayed by the older generation; for she says:

> "The first time one of my merchant-hosts began to prepare for prayer, I moved away"; and adds, "but both he and the policeman intimated that there was no need to leave, because nothing whatever could disturb him."

The narrative, however, soon sweeps us back to her original design, when she gives a sorrowful description of the boat on the Black Sea:

> "The air was unbreathable, stinking of men, animals in general, spring onions, sweat and belches in particular, and I fled back on deck."

as if she needs to travel to the Black Sea to have that experience. She will find plenty of it at Hamburg: also in studying the book one is apt to get the impression that captains of river boats and bazaar loafers, were the most hopeful individuals who could interpret the Soul of New Turkey to her.

I am not sure, either whether Turkish women may not have other ideas about her assertion that "their souls are not considered of much importance."

Later in the book the author's entry into Istambul provides her further opportunities of applying more muddy brushes: for she says of that Diamond of the Orient:

"Grey and unenchanting . . . decaying palaces . . . poverty-haunted families . . . sweating porters . . . dead dogs and orange peels danced on the blue water."

One cannot help comparing the above with the description of the same scene by another author :

"Its natural beauty defies the most pictorial delineators of all times," he writes of Constantinople, "poems written to portray the scene of moonlit vistas of that bridal city of the Orient are but pale shades of reality ; for I agree with the Persian prince, living a life of voluntary exile there now more than a thousand years ago, who said, 'the one and only disadvantage of the New Rome (Istambul) is that there one dies like anywhere else'."

Her knowledge of the requirements of the Moslem religion, too, is lamentably limited : for instance, she says :

"Nationalism and democracy were to supply the moral code, which should take the place of the Koran, and the picture of the Ghazi was meant to strengthen the heart, which no longer believed in Allah"

This is a malignant imputation upon a noble people, whom she seeks to interpret, and one often wishes in reading her slanging of the Turks that she had taken the advice of the Berlin cobbler, over whose shop she had read :

"If you are dissatisfied tell me—if you are satisfied, tell others"

This advice would have been all the more valuable to her, posing as she does to be a friend of the Turkish nation, for she gives no creditable background previous to the advent of the Ataturk.

The book, therefore, is a collection of gleanings, hurriedly jotted down by one who has skimmed the surface. The tragedy is that in a vulgar attempt to praise the First Man in that realm, she, in effect, ridicules him because she has made the nationals of Turkey—who after all have made Kemal what he is —almost a sub-human race of filthy and degenerate individuals.

Also, if the title itself is sure to offend the religious feelings of millions of the King's Moslem subjects, what does it matter to a German journalist? *

* *The author is an emigré German*

A TRIUMPH OF DEBUNKING

COUNT YOUR DEAD—THEY ARE ALIVE. By Wyndham Lewis. *Lovat Dickson.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by PATRICK LEIGH-FERMOR

A SUPERFICIAL reading of Mr. Wyndham Lewis's book might lead the reader to believe that the author is a Fascist. But the verdict would be a false one, for Mr. Wyndham Lewis is an anti-communist, and, above all an individualist, who discusses both Communism and Fascism without an unreasoning phobia of the one, or a blind enthusiasm for the other. He is, in fact, a " Bolsho-Tory " (his own word), a mixture of both ; a nationalist in international affairs, a leveller and a democrat at home. In the final analysis, his doctrine lies in a violent opposition to every sort of monopoly and centralisation of power. The arch offenders in power-centralisation—Russia, France and England—he compares to any giant combine whose wares are not of the first quality, owing to lack of specialisation, and which attempts to force all smaller independent tradesmen—Germany and Italy—to amalgamate or be put out of business

Monopoly politics, Mr. Wyndham Lewis urges, will, in time, lead us into a war, the responsibility for which will lie heavily on our own shoulders ; for Britain cannot persevere in her self-appointed role of the Big Bad Wolf for ever, without eventually showing her teeth. He points out that our disproportionate terror of the Fascist States is the root of all our mistakes in recent foreign affairs, and that only when we have remedied this, will we be capable of a more reasonable policy.

The day-spring of all our wrong-headedness as a nation lies, he tells us, in Monopoly and Big Business, and the organs of publicity that are under their control : the newspapers and the news-reels. He also indicts the B.B.C. for giving biased commentaries on foreign affairs, especially Spanish ones, with a peroration that we should treat this smoke-screen of misinformation for what it is worth, and think for ourselves.

The whole book is a masterpiece of debunking ; and, though rather cruel at times, the process is, on the whole, salutary and just. Mr. Wyndham Lewis's principal victims are Mr. Baldwin (" Our frontier is on the Rhine "), at the head of a system of government that is a fake antique ; the young academic Bolshevik who has no grasp of what Fascism and Communism really mean ; episcopal cant ; and, singled out from the rest of mankind, the club-man. The type is held up to ridicule all through the book in the person of Mr. Launcelot Nidwit, the old Harrovian friend of Ned (who is patently Mr. Wyndham Lewis himself). The book consists entirely of the views of Ned and Launcelot, and into the latter's mouth are put all the herd-thinking, newspaper-, newsreel- and B.B.C.-bred views of the British citizen at his worst. His gradual piercing of the smoke-screen of misinformation mentioned above is a triumph of humour and caricature.

SHORTER NOTICES

I FOUND NO PEACE. By Webb Miller. *Gollancz.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

IT says much for the resilience of the human spirit that the suicide-rate among foreign correspondents is not high. After a lifetime recording the mess of blood and tears which go to make up " news," it would be more than understandable if they finished themselves off with a revolver or stayed perpetually drunk. Webb Miller has been at hand

at almost every front-page event since 1916, and only packs his bag when people look like reverting to the peaceful life which he must have come to regard as abnormal. His is the best of the many autobiographies by foreign correspondents so far. He is not only vivid—most American writers are that—but modest and, above all, honest No American journalist, it seems, has the knowledge to make him realise the centuries of racial animosities, relics of feudal oppression, and irrational traditions which form the background of twentieth century Europe. But Webb Miller at least avoids the superficial judgments which spoil some of his compatriots' works of current history. His is a straightforward, truthful account which can be read as a grand adventure story by anyone far enough away in time, space or spirit from the events recorded, not to be moved to despair by it.

BOOK GUIDE

KEMAL ATATURK (The Ghazi through German eyes) Hanns Froembgen. *Jarrolds*. 18*s*

WE AREN'T SO DUMB. Christopher Hollis. *Longmans* 6*s*.

UNDER THE JAPANESE MASK. Miles W. Vaughn *Lovat Dickson* 12*s* 6*d*.

ARMAMENTS Francis W Hirst. *Cobden-Sanderson* 5*s*.

THE ROAD TO OXIANA Robert Byron. *Macmillan* 10*s* 6*d*

SO YOU'RE GOING TO GERMANY AND AUSTRIA! (An entertaining guidebook.) Clara E Laughlin *Methuen* 10*s* 6*d*

THIRTY DAYS OF INDIA Commander Stephen King-Hall. *Herbert Jenkins* 5*s*

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF A SUPPRESSED PEOPLE Rev J C. Heinrich, M A. *Allen & Unwin* 3*s*. 6*d*

PALESTINE AT THE CROSSROADS. Ernest Mann *Allen & Unwin* 7*s* 6*d*

THE GREEN EDGE OF ASIA. Richard Pyke. *Allen & Unwin*. 6*s*.

UNDER FIVE EAGLES. (Travel, Adventure, Autobiography.) Lola Kinel. *Putnam*. 12*s* 6*d*

LORDS OF THE INLAND SEA. (The Mediterranean Question.) Sir Charles Petrie, Bart. *Lovat Dickson* 10*s*. 6*d*

THE FUTURE OF GOLD

by "RAPIER"

THE world-wide market slump which followed the gold price scare and was accentuated by the announcement of the new excess profits tax appeared to have spent its force before Whitsun. Many industrial equities were undoubtedly marked down too low, even taking into consideration the prospect of rising costs of manufacture, which must lead to a higher yield basis for ordinary shares than has been in operation for a considerable period. The setback to rising commodity prices is almost certainly only a temporary one It is to be hoped, however, that any further rise will be accomplished in a more orderly manner than the wild boom which followed the announcement of Britain's rearmament programme The continuance of a cheap money policy in Britain, vast gold holdings concentrated in America, rearmament expenditure and unbalanced budgets, are all inflationary forces tending to promote rising prices.

The realisation of these factors is the underlying reason for continued fears of a fall in the price of gold. No industry can maintain indefinitely an exaggerated margin of profit between costs of production and selling price of the product. This was well illustrated by the collapse of the rubber boom in 1925, when the price of this commodity rose from 1s. 4⅝d. to 4s. 8d. in that year only to fall to 1s. 5⅞d. in December, 1926. At the height of the boom many producers were carried away with visions of untold profits continuing over a period of years. But the United States tyre manufacturers, who are the largest consumers of rubber, thought otherwise, and broke the boom by a very large increase in production of "reclaimed" rubber. These consumers were unwilling to pay a price for a commodity which gave producers a spread of two or three shillings a pound between production and selling price. A similar trend is observable in the gold mining industry today though it is more difficult to follow owing to the fact that gold is a commodity which is mainly used for monetary purposes. The price of gold in terms of currencies has been increased by 67 per cent. by the measures of devaluation taken by the leading countries since 1931. But gold, like any other commodity, is subject to the laws of supply and demand, and if there is over-production it will fall in value in terms of other commodities. This is exactly what is happening today owing to the rise in cost of other commodities such as grain, metals, oil, rubber, etc.

Though costs of production of old-established dividend-paying gold mines are only rising slowly, the cost of developing new properties is rising rapidly and must check the opening up of new fields and also force the old-established mines to concentrate again on their higher grade ores thus lessening the lives of these mines.

There is one producer, however, which is not subject to these forces in

the same degree as the others. Russia has become the second largest gold producer in the world and owing to its non-capitalistic basis of society is not bound to consider cost of production factors if it has a special motive for concentrating upon production of some commodity even on an uneconomic basis. Russia no doubt finds gold a helpful basis in obtaining credits for imports and for building reserves of foreign exchange in time of war.

With America unwilling to lower tariffs on a grand scale or to resume foreign lending it appears that she must continue to be the main mausoleum for the interment of the vast quantities of gold being dug up today.

Sirens of Stabilisation

Rising costs of production only act slowly in checking output and there is still a possibility, despite official denials, that Washington may decide to lower its gold purchasing price. Under the tripartite agreement, however, America cannot act alone. This question may therefore lead to further international co-operation Already South Africa, whose prosperity depends mainly upon gold, has seen the red light and its representatives at the Imperial Conference in London are going to press Mr. Chamberlain to stabilise sterling. It is doubtful if he will listen to these sirens as Britain appears to be determined to keep its independence in monetary matters and to maintain only an indirect link with gold. Both America and France are believed ready to stabilise *de jure* but Britain holds back. If stabilisation were again attained the world would at least be freed from fears of arbitrary action by individual Governments such as a threatened unilateral raising of the gold price. But on the other hand a return to stabilised currencies means a resumption of the bank rate weapon as an effective instrument to control booms and slumps. Such control is, however, domestically unpopular and is likely to be opposed by those politicians who wish to get the best of all worlds by attempting to get a measure of stabilisation without incurring the sacrifices necessary to maintain it. Rigidities exist in the economic structure of most countries today, such as a rigidity of wages, which makes it difficult to apply the proper control of credit to check unhealthy expansion of business. But if such tendencies are not checked in their early stages they are likely to get out of control and lead in the long run to inflation and consequent depression.

German Rearmament Problem

An interesting sidelight upon the factor of rising prices is its probable effect upon German rearmament. A firm of London stockbrokers has analysed Germany's imports of raw materials in 1936 and reached the conclusion that the extra cost of importing the same amount of these commodities in 1937 will be approximately £40,000,000. Unless, therefore, Germany can obtain more foreign exchange it would appear that rearmament must be slowed down. Moreover, Hitler's four-year plan to make Germany self sufficient in commodities such as rubber, oil, wool, etc., by erecting new factories for their synthetic manufacture must in itself absorb large quantities of imported raw materials thereby reducing the supply available for armaments. Even therefore with an increase in foreign exchange holdings, brought about by an increased value of exports, Germany is faced with a growing problem. Stocks of raw materials and foodstuffs previously stored have been exhausted and a substantial increase in the volume of imports is necessary if the standard of living of the population is not to deteriorate further.

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

SPAIN

April 15. Scheme for control of coasts by nations belonging to Non-Intervention Committee came into operation. Roughly, the countries known to favour Franco guard the Government coast, and *vice versa*

„ 20. Franco issued decree uniting various parties under his control into one organisation.

„ 23. *et seq.* British food ships run the blockade and arrive safely at Bilbao. Official programme of the Franco organisation "Falange Espanola Tradicionalista" issued, containing plans for a Fascist Spain Insurgents advance towards Bilbao

May 2. Franco's battleship *España* sunk—at first supposedly by a bomb—later by a mine
Destruction of Guernica, capital of Basque Republic of Euzkadi, by rebel bombers Germany accused of supplying the planes, bombs, airmen and plans

„ 4-8 Anarchist and "Trotskyist" rising in Barcelona Street shooting resulted in heavy casualties Government retained control

„ 6 Evacuation of women and children from Bilbao under escort of British Navy begun

„ 13. British destroyer *Hunter* off Spanish coast, holed with loss of 9 lives

„ 17. Largo Caballero resigned Premiership as unable to form new Cabinet New Government, excluding Anarchists, formed by Dr Negrin (Socialist)

ITALY

April 23. Meeting between Mussolini and Chancellor von Schuschnigg of Austria at Venice Official communiqué emphasised necessity for collaboration of Germany in settlement of problems in the Danube Basin area. Announcement in *Giornale d'Italia* that the Austrians intended bringing a Nazi into the Government denied with vigour

May 8. Announcement that owing to the anti-Italian utterances in English Press, all Italian newspaper correspondents in London will be withdrawn, and all English newspapers prohibited in Italy, with exception of two Rothermere papers, and the *Observer*.

BELGIUM

April 24 At Belgium's request, that country formally released from obligations under Locarno Treaty to come to assistance of other parties to the Treaty if attacked, and guarantee of assistance to Belgium in case of aggression formally renewed by Britain and France. Belgium agreed to defend her frontier, and reiterated continued loyalty to obligations under the League Covenant (sanctions, etc).

UNITED KINGDOM

April 20 Budget with estimated expenditure of £938,000,000 (against £893,700,000 last year and not including £80 millions for defence to be raised by borrowing) introduced by Mr. Neville Chamberlain To cover estimated deficit of £15 millions, 3d added to Income Tax (now 5s in the £) and "National Defence Contribution" on excess profits introduced Consternation in the City over new profits tax Big slump in all shares connected with rearmament

May 1 London bus strike began

„ 12 Coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth

FRANCE

May 7 M Blum made appeal for peace between capital and labour

„ 8. Vote of confidence in Chamber for M Blum

GERMANY

May 6 Giant Zeppelin "Hindenburg" destroyed by fire at Lakehurst airport, New Jersey Thirty-two dead, including famous war veteran, Captain Ernst Lehmann. Germany announced unshaken determination to proceed with Zeppelin construction

EGYPT

May 8 Convention signed at Montreux ending Capitulations (special rights for foreigners) in Egypt Nahas Pasha thanked Britain for her help

JAPAN

April 30 General Election ends in increase of Social Mass (Labour) members by 30. Government in a minority, but under Japanese constitution is not required to resign

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WORLD REVIEW

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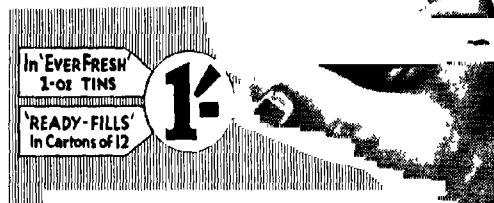
By Alexander Kerensky

Prime Minister of Russia, 1917

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THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

ANGLO-GERMAN HOPE

by VERNON BARTLETT

TWO months ago in this REVIEW we forecast that the new British diplomatic team in Berlin—Sir Nevile Henderson as Ambassador and Mr. (now, very deservedly, Sir) Ogilvie Forbes as his second in command—would have a tremendous and useful influence on the development of Anglo-German relations. Forecasts are seldom so quickly justified. Within a few hours of the bombing of Almeria by the Germans, the new British Ambassador was saying sympathetic things about British misunderstandings of National-Socialism which have delighted the leaders of that movement and have led to questions and protests in the House of Commons. And I, for one, congratulate the Ambassador on his courage.

With reservations, of course. The moment for such a statement was unfortunate, since any praise of National-Socialist methods so short a time after they had taken the form of a bullying and highly dangerous bombardment of civilians who did not even know why they were being shelled might so easily be misunderstood in Germany. Although even a newspaper with so great a reputation as *The Times* wrote a leader on Saturday, June 5, to this effect: "The highly reprehensible bombing of the *Deutschland* and the equally regrettable bombardment of Almeria," public opinion in Great Britain saw a

tremendous difference between those two events, and there can be no hope of an Anglo-German understanding unless that difference is understood in Germany.

Reservation on Almeria

Most of the campaign against " Fascism " in this and every other country is due to fear ; some of it is due to a sense of outraged justice. I should be the last person to claim that we had committed no follies to make Germany menacing and no acts of injustice to make her unjust. But there the facts are. While we are groping towards a future in which the wealthy nations will show more wisdom in their economic and commercial policies and the more disgruntled ones will modify their excessive nationalism, we are the victims of shocks such as the bombing of Guernica and the bombardment of Almeria. These acts seem to us to betray either such a cold love of force or such a lack of self-control that all our doubts about the possibility of peaceful understanding are revived. To appeal to our own compatriots in such circumstances to show tolerant and generous understanding of the more exuberant forms of Nazidom may be considerably worse than useless.

I asked a distinguished German statesman a week or two ago why his government did not take some of the wind out of anti-Nazi sails by allowing Karl von Ossietsky, winner of the 1935 Nobel Peace Prize, to leave Germany. Dimitrov, he replied, had been released and had ever since been carrying on bitter anti-German propaganda. His government did not care to release another man who might go the same way. But how much more dangerous to Germany than Dimitrov in Moscow are Julius Streicher with his *Stürmer* in Nuremberg, the German airmen with their bombs at Guernica or the German fleet with its shells at Almeria. There could be no better way of preventing an Anglo-German understanding than to allow these campaigns of hatred and acts of bullying to continue. It is safe to say that this understanding would already have been made impossible if the reluctance to please Moscow were not almost as strong in London as it is in Berlin. In that crazy world of dictators where people of such high position are arrested as traitors or spies one almost expects to read that Dimitrov is paid by Hitler and Ribbentrop by Stalin.

If Sir Nevile Henderson's speech were taken in Germany to mean that he or his government approved of the Almeria method it would

have done much more harm than good. As much harm, for example, as Herr von Ribbentrop's little curtain lecture to British journalists on the day of the Almeria bombardment or as some of his other activities which have at times made him the laughing stock of London—when he gave his famous salute to the King in the presence of his colleagues of the diplomatic corps somebody whispered to the Swiss Minister, one of the most impressive and dignified diplomats in London, that the least he could do was to yodel !

But I believe that, in fact, the British Ambassador's speech has been read with relief and gratitude by many millions of Germans who hate the idea of war as much as we do and who distrust the " wild men " in the National-Socialist party as much as we distrust our own Diehard Imperialists. After I returned from Berlin in January I pointed out that, since there were no more treaty clauses whose tearing up would unite opinion in Germany and divide it abroad, the Führer would have to decide whether to make isolation an end and not merely a method. The British re-armament programme has doubtless helped to dissuade him from hurrying down the road towards war. Sir Nevile's speech should help to decide him to follow that which leads towards co-operation. It is, in any case, safe to state that Herr Hitler's mind is not yet made up. The bombardment of Almeria and the haste with which he has sent his delegate back to the Non-Intervention Committee show that he is still influenced by men whose conceptions of policy are fundamentally opposed.

Why Franco Will Fail

For several months doubts about General Franco have been spreading through Germany so that not only the Reichswehr officers but vast sections of the ordinary public now admit that the German government put its money on a loser when the Spanish Civil War broke out. But most of us have backed the wrong horse some time in our lives and have admitted our blunder. If the Germans now loyally support genuine non-intervention they will find very strong and widespread pressure to keep the Russians on the straight and narrow path, for there is no more foolish error than to believe that criticism of German policy in Spain is dictated by an enthusiasm for that of Russia. The criticism comes from the fact that German

bombers were at work weeks before a single Russian aeroplane could be discovered on or over Spanish soil.

General Franco will lose in Spain (*pace* Mr. J. L. Garvin) because he is much more dependent than is Señor Negrin on foreign support, and anti-foreign feeling is growing steadily throughout that distressed country. He will lose because each day lessens his initial advantage in having all the trained and disciplined troops on his side. He will lose because the only solution for Spain is a federation of autonomous states and he still hesitates to recognise this fact which the Spanish government recognised from the early days of the war. He will lose, because Germany is not going to war for Spain and Italy is most unlikely to do so.

Signor Mussolini is much more involved in the adventure than Herr Hitler, and perhaps the most difficult of all international problems connected with Spain will prove to be that of the future of Majorca, where, whatever they may say to Mr. Eden, the Italians are determined to stay. But I believe that nothing has a greater influence on Italian policy today than the profound belief held in Rome that the British are determined, by war or bribery, to push the Italians out of Abyssinia again.

We in Great Britain know only too well that our motive for refusing to recognise Italian ownership of Abyssinia is not a desire to grab that difficult country for ourselves but is a timid lip-service to the principles of an international law we had not the courage to enforce. It is quite possible, however, that a frank confession that, in this particular case, we had allowed might to be right and had no intention of proving it to be wrong would greatly modify the fervour of Italian military leaders in Spain and of Italian broadcasters in the Near East. For it is high time we realised that Italy looks upon Great Britain, and not upon Republican Spain or Stalinist Russia, as the potential enemy.

A Chance is At Hand

" It is said by some," writes Captain A. L. Kennedy, former Assistant Foreign Editor of *The Times*, in one of the wisest and most lucid books on Nazi Germany that has appeared in English,* " that every day gained is a gain for peace. I believe that to be a superficial

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* Britain Faces Germany (Jonathan Cape 5/-)

and unreflecting view. The present tendency is for Britain and Germany to drift apart. A conscious effort is needed, and a supreme effort. There may not be another chance. The forces of armed conflict are growing too rapidly. War is being stamped again with the hall-mark of legitimacy, which had been erased from it in Paris in 1928. Men's will to fight is being deliberately stimulated."

This is all horribly true. Read the details of the British government's criminal cowardice in 1934 when the Germans were offering terms for the limitation of the control of armaments which sound quite fantastically favourable today and you will be left wondering whether the drift towards the reacceptance of war as an instrument of national policy can conceivably be checked. Men like Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare, greatly responsible, the one for the armament muddle, and the other for the greatest betrayal of the League, are still important members of the British cabinet. War is indeed being stamped again with the hall-mark of legitimacy.

But we are approaching one of those periods when public opinion can again make itself felt and even feared by politicians who understand only fear and compromise. If Herr Hitler is still hesitating in Germany every leader in every other country is appalled by the financial chaos towards which re-armament is leading. So favourable a moment for an attempt to bring Germany back to moderation is not likely to be repeated.

"If Great Britain and Germany," writes Captain Kennedy, "could settle their differences—there is no need for an alliance or anything like it—the present disintegrating process would almost certainly be arrested. The union of British and German (and other) efforts would exercise a vital influence upon events and might just turn the scale in favour of restoring prosperity (of which the elements are ready to hand) and a League System, instead of permitting the spread of bankruptcy and ungodliness, and a *sauve qui peut* among the nations."

After the Imperial Conference

The Imperial Conference is over. We have as yet no measure of its success, for no conference in my memory has been held in such secrecy, some of which has been absurd and some probably necessary. For it is clear that there are still doubts in the Dominions about the sincerity with which officials in Whitehall respect the Statute of

Westminster. Every delegate has argued that the subjects discussed would much more easily become bitter party issues in the Dominion parliaments if they reached the decision stage in London than if they were left so vague that the most sensitive nationalist in Canberra, Cape Town or elsewhere could consider them without prejudice.

Quite certainly the progress on the reduction of tariffs has not been great enough to enable, or to induce, the British government to reach an immediate and far-reaching trade agreement with the United States. Much of the political value of that document will have gone before plenipotentiaries of both governments sign along the dotted line. On this issue, as on defence and the future of the League of Nations, there has been less progress than one desired but there has been more than one expected. And the world has been considerably impressed to discover that states bound together by such slender threads, and separated by such wide economic and geographical divisions, can, nevertheless, maintain that loose federation which it is the aim of League supporters to establish between a much larger number of states. At a time when every constructive step must be gratefully emphasised the Imperial Conference deserves its pat on the back.

"Heil Hitler"—in Austria

Anxiety over Spain has made anxiety over Austria a secondary affair, but Vienna is still turning out its supply of political stories. Chancellor Schuschnigg and his foreign minister, Dr. Guido Schmidt, according to one of these stories, were travelling in a train from Vienna to Munich on an official visit to the Führer. "I wonder," said the Chancellor, "whether this fellow Hitler is really as popular as they say. I am going to try an experiment."

As the train drew out of the station, Dr. von Schuschnigg threw open the window and called out: "Heil Hitler." Everybody on the platform responded loudly. "Amazing," said the Chancellor to his foreign minister and received an embarrassed reply: "But we are not yet out of Austria, sir." That station was Salzburg.

BLOOMSBURY JOTTING

On the other hand, whereas the mouths of Salvador Dali's women are devoured by ants, we find those of Roland Penrose only happily infested with butterflies.—*Paul Nash, on Surrealism, "News Chronicle,"* London.

COMPLETE AMUSEMENT GUIDE

SUNDAY.

GREAT BRITAIN sews up Spain's *cordon sanitaire*,
French banks break the back of the *Front Populaire*,
The Rome-Berlin axis puts states in a spin,
And the Little Entente is uneasy within.

MONDAY.

Schacht showers on Danubia the boon of Reich trade,
Von Neurath is voted *de trop* in Belgrade,
The *Queen Mary* leaves dry-dock as Queen of the Sea,
And U.S.A. strikers are making whoopee.

TUESDAY.

The Little Entente shares identical views,
Spain's naval patrols are transferred to canoes,
Japan with acclaim joins the peacemakers' ring,
And Cathleen na Hooligan blows up a King.

WEDNESDAY.

Great Britain's prosperity booms at the peak,
The Chancellor cancels the tax of the week,
Half the Little Entente gives the Nazi salute,
And citizen Stalin is off on a shoot.

THURSDAY.

The Windsors are offered the Austrian crown,
Geneva breaks up, and world trade-talks break down,
The Duce earns Hitler's *ur-nordische* badge,
And Congress in India gives the razz to the Raj.

FRIDAY.

The charm of Ciano disarms Budapest,
Newspapers all over the world are suppressed,
The Balkans dissolve and announce a fresh start,
And the Little Entente keeps on falling apart.

SATURDAY.

Esthonia plans to become self-contained,
Reich sovereignty over all *Wurst* is regained,
The Solomon Islands make ready for war—
And the Little Entente is the same as before.—REYNARD.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Labour Spokesman

OUR chief contributor this month, Alexander Kerensky, the radical lawyer who for some months governed a great empire, was born with a gift of tongues. Before the Revolution he had worked his way far enough up in Russian socialist circles to be spokesman of the Labour group in the Duma ; but, for all his zeal and sincerity, nobody ever looked on him as a potential leader.

The Crowded Hour

All was changed with the upheaval of 1917. Kerensky's eloquence made him useful as a figurehead; his powers of speech inflamed the masses. When the Tauride Palace, the seat of the Duma, was invaded by the mob, he suddenly came into his element, bobbing up on all sides, speaking, exhorting, saving Tsarist ministers from the crowd, tearing open packets of secret treaties or throwing down before the eyes of his astonished colleagues bundles of rouble notes saved from some institute threatened with plunder.

Dizzy Heights

After a short spell as War Minister in the Cabinet of the Liberal Prince Lvoff, Kerensky became Prime Minister on his own account. The serious illness which afflicted him at the time hampered in no way the vigour of his support for the Allied cause. But his whirlwind tour of the front could only have a momentary effect, as the Russian army, partly owing to his own decrees, was already disentegrated beyond repair.

Poetry and Prose

For some time the flamboyant orator continued to find enthusiastic audiences. His sense of theatre, his quick movements

and striking gestures, made people forget his inability to act ruthlessly. But while he was losing himself in a mist of glamorous phrases and plunging from self-confidence to fits of despair, the forces of extremism, the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky, were gathering strength.

In comparison, Kerensky was an emotional idealist; take, for example, his outburst to the Grand Duke Michael after persuading him to renounce the succession to the throne. "Your Highness," he cried, "you are a noble man. I will say everywhere that you are a noble man." As one critic drily remarked, "Kerensky's poetry was in poor harmony with the prose of the decision."

The Lightning Strikes

Kerensky's last night in the Winter Palace was long and painful. Power had slipped from him that he was helpless to retrieve. Only an American diplomatic car and a false passport issued by the British Agent, Bruce Lockhart, saved him from violent death where shortly before he had believed himself the leader of a nation.

Today Kerensky lives in Paris and edits a small newspaper. He has also written a book defending his attitude towards the Tsar after the abdication. His brief moment of fame still dazzles him ; addressing a meeting of Russian emigrés the other day, he began with the question : "Why are you here and not in Russia ?" After a pause he went on: "Stalin is to blame" ; then, "and so am I."

Romance of a Renegade

"We need a despot." So young Lieutenant Tukhachevsky of the aristocratic Semenoff regiment told his fellow prisoners of war at Ingolstadt in 1915. The despot has appeared in the shape of Stalin, and the brilliant young soldier who at 25 commanded the Red Army on the Volga has been crushed.

Tukhachevsky was one of those nightmare characters that emerge only in the glare of revolutions. At the age of 21 he came into a heavily mortgaged estate and a mass of debts contracted by dissolute ancestors. The War gave him the one chance of a career. When the Revolution broke out, there seemed better chances in the Bolshevik ranks than in the armies of Koltchak and Denikin. Although he had always expressed contempt for the Tsar and the degenerate nobility, he had been equally scornful of the revolutionaries and had an intense

hatred of Jews. But, once the die was cast, the renegade let no one doubt his loyalty to the new regime. After defeating the White Armies, he put down the revolt of the Cronstadt sailors with the utmost cruelty; he had his own superior officer, Muravioff, shot for treason.

Universal War

A luxurious drawing-room car took him from front to front; his leisure was spent in making violins and listening to Beethoven's ninth symphony on the gramophone. When his wife was accused of sending unauthorised supplies to her famine-stricken relations, he himself repudiated her and drove her to suicide. A few weeks later he married again.

A debauchee of action, he had little taste for peace. His pamphlet entitled "Class War" shows him to have upheld the Trotskyite theory that the Red Army should be a nucleus for revolutionary armies all over the world.

Red Rivals

The first split between him and Stalin occurred when the Red forces were invading Poland. Stalin was then a little known political agent with the army under Budyenny. Tukhachevsky, whose troops were exhausted by their advance, called on Budyenny to come to his assistance. But Budyenny and Stalin refused to listen, and Russia lost her chance of reconquering Poland largely through their anxiety to have a victory of their own.

After Trotsky's removal, Stalin took the opportunity of disgracing Tukhachevsky for the first time by sending him to an obscure provincial garrison. But his military qualities were needed for the reorganisation of the Red Army and he was recalled as Chief of Staff. Now Stalin has conferred on him the final disgrace that awaits every too independent subordinate in Russia.

Spanish Mushrooms

Civil wars keep throwing up new men like mushrooms and the newest is Señor Juan Negrin, Prime Minister of Spain. Unknown outside his own country, Señor Negrin has for a long time carried weight among Spanish socialists. Apart from politics, he has also made a name for himself as professor of biology at Madrid University.

Rewards of Loyalty

This cultured research student, in the late forties, has been a militant socialist ever since he was a young man. His loyalty received its reward when he was chosen to be president of the socialist group in the Cortes of 1933. Two years earlier he had been elected a deputy for the Canary Islands, the place of his birth. A further honour came his way when in the 1936 elections the Popular Front inscribed his name together with that of Largo Caballero on their list of seven candidates for the Madrid constituencies. All seven were elected.

Sinews of War

Señor Negrin first entered the Government last September as Finance Minister. No light task awaited him ; he had to organise the monetary side of the whole Government effort in the civil war. This included removing the Bank of Spain to Carthagena, taking urgent measures to maintain Spanish credit at home and abroad, and the financing of war material factories and imports from foreign countries. His efficiency in overcoming these difficulties quickly won him the respect of his colleagues, and it is not surprising that he should have since become Prime Minister.

Señor Negrin's socialism is said to be somewhat paler than the extreme views held by Largo Caballero ; he has always been a reformer rather than a revolutionary. Having travelled in many countries, he is a good internationalist.

General à l'Anglaise

The death of General Mola left room for a fresh star in the Franco constellation. The new commander-in-chief in the north is General Fiedel Davila, a veteran of the Spanish-American war. For many years a distinguished staff officer, he was promoted General for his services at Melilla in the Moroccan campaign. The revolution led to his retirement, which ended when General Franco appointed him chief of the Nationalist defence department. Later he became president of the technical state committee at Burgos.

Unlike his predecessor, he is short and wears a moustache. In character he is said to be a rather shy, silent type of soldier, described by a Spaniard as " something on the English pattern."

THE DESTINY OF STALINISM
Tragedy Ahead

by ALEXANDFR KERENSKY

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the views they express, articles from men of international fame. This month we feel that there will be particular interest in M. Kerensky's interpretation of the trend of events in Soviet Russia, in view of Stalin's new " purge " of generals and leaders of industry, which has shocked and bewildered the world. As Prime Minister of the Social-Democrat Government, which ruled Russia in early 1917, before Lenin's October Revolution swept the Bolsheviks into power, M. Kerensky speaks with authority when comparing the Russia of today with that of twenty years ago

IN the middle of May, 1937, an anarchist meeting was held in Paris and was attended by thousands of proletarians.

A Spanish delegate told the audience of recent political events in Barcelona. He described in indignant tones the persecutions, " torture" and death suffered by the Anarchists and the Trotskyists at the hands of the official Communists, or Stalinists. He ended his speech by exclaiming in Spanish : " Stalin must die ! " And the audience repeated in French : " Stalin must die."

Two or three years ago such an utterance at a proletarian meeting in Paris would have been highly improbable. The youthful revolutionary audience which the Anarchists gathered in May 1937, would have attended instead an official communist meeting, and would have exclaimed : " Long live Stalin ! Long live the Soviets ! "

What is the real meaning of this change of attitude in western revolutionary centres towards the " leader of world revolution " ?

The Spanish events, and especially the bitter strife in Barcelona,

help us to measure the evolution of Bolshevik dictatorship from Lenin in 1917 to Stalin in 1937.

What is going on in Spain? Roughly speaking, a democratic government is striving to defend the revolution against an armed military rebellion. The Spanish Communists, directed by Stalin's Comintern, have entered a democratic bourgeois coalition, and are defending "democratic liberties." The Anarchists and the Leninists (or Trotskyists, as they are now called) are trying to break away from the bourgeois democrats whom they consider as their "class-enemies."

This is why the Stalinists and the Trotskyists bitterly oppose one another in Spain. They are divided by mutual hatred, and terrorise one another.

Must a Trotskyist help the republicans to defend their freedom or must he seek to convert the revolution into a purely proletarian movement? That is the question.

Lenin's Tactics Abandoned

The Trotskyists answer clearly that their duty is to encourage a proletarian movement, for such were Lenin's tactics in 1917-18. And we are forced to admit that the Spanish Trotskyists are a hundred per cent. right.

In 1917, Lenin accepted an alliance with the Anarchists in order to convert the democratic revolution into a purely proletarian one. He adopted a *defeatist* position towards the war with Germany, preferring military defeat to an alliance with the "class-enemy."

In autumn 1917, this "class-enemy" was not represented by the Tsar and the land-owners (who had been overthrown *before* Lenin's arrival) but by the socialist-revolutionary and social-democratic parties, who had established a People's Republic in Russia. It can be truly said that, in 1937, Stalin prescribes to his agents and followers in Spain a tactic diametrically opposed to Lenin's instructions in 1917.

Since 1917, and up to the present day, Russia has been the leading spirit of the Western revolutionary movement. Unfortunately the Soviet hegemony was founded not on a profound knowledge of historical facts, but on various legends and on a highly superficial attitude towards the human truth lying behind history. And yet it is impossible to understand the phenomena called Stalinism and to

foresee its further development, without mastering two unquestionable historic facts :

Firstly, as I have already mentioned, Lenin founded his dictatorship through open war against the Republic and the working masses. He recognised as much himself on two occasions—on the day of his arrival in Petersburg, after the February Revolution, and on the eve of his October *coup d'état.* On both occasions he declared that " henceforth Russia is the freest country in the world, a country where the oppression of the masses has been definitely ended." And yet he did not hesitate to attack the very régime which had ended this oppression.

Secondly, having established his dictatorship with the aid of civil war, Lenin pursued aims diametrically opposed to those which Stalinists are actually pursuing in the West, and especially in Spain. In the official " History of the Civil War " published in Moscow, we read that Lenin worked against national defence in the name of proletarian internationalism, and that he sought to convert the imperialistic war into civil war.

Thus, we see that the Spanish Trotskyists and Anarchists are virtually applying Lenin's instructions, and consider that Stalin has betrayed " proletarian internationalism," and that he, therefore, deserves to die.

Stalin defends himself against these accusations ; he answers the Trotskyists' endless quotations from Lenin by other endless quotations from the same source. For, as everyone knows, Lenin found no difficulty in changing his views, and one may find in his works an exact formula to suit any occasion. Stalin's dogmatic and practical opportunism is but the extreme consequence of Bolshevik tactics. Lenin himself, were he still alive, would probably adopt the same attitude and renounce his " proletarian internationalism," just as in 1921 he put a stop to integral communism and proclaimed the so-called NEP (New Economic Policy).

Hopes of World Revolution

And yet, there is a profound difference between Lenin's NEP and Stalin's present system. When Lenin established " proletarian dictatorship " in Russia—a country with an immense peasant population and industrially undeveloped—he firmly believed in the approach

of world-revolution. This movement was to break out in the more advanced, industrialised and capitalistic states (first of all in Germany), so that the Russian revolutionary " vanguard " was soon to find support in other countries. But this hypothesis was slow to fulfil itself, whilst integral communism caused strong discontent and frequent disturbances amongst the peasants. After three years, this system brought about a famine, more terrible than any that had been witnessed in Russia since 1613. What was Lenin to do? He had not ceased to hope for a world revolution, but he was ready to be patient, and to allow for a " pause," a " breathing space."

Thus Lenin proclaimed the NEP, granting the population a certain economic freedom, at the same time maintaining the initial form of his political dictatorship. Following his instructions, Bukharin issued the slogan " Enrich yourselves "(imitating Louis XIV), whilst Zinovieff declared that Russia was to be allowed "to grow a little fatter."

Dangerous Prosperity

A miracle resulted ; economic semi-freedom awakened Russia's creative energies. In 1927, the prosperity of the Soviet Union equalled the highest stage of economic development reached by Russia in 1913. At the same time, the political activity of the peasant class grew from day to day. In the local Soviets and co-operative unions, the representatives of dictatorship were defeated. The possibility was even mentioned of forming a peasant party, and the idea was supported by Kameneff.

The " Dictatorship of the Proletariat " was threatened with engulfment by the so-called *petit bourgeois* elements ; there was no sign of world revolution breaking out either in Europe, or in Asia. But in Russia itself there were symptoms of growing opposition. The left wing of Lenin's old party, lead by Trotsky, declared that a " well fed " rural class was a danger to the dictatorial system ; the opposition urgently demanded the suppression of this class and the re-establishment of integral communism.

The system of planned economy, reasonable enough in itself, was made to serve a ruthless policy, the policy of the first Five Year Plan, and was turned into a system of cruel oppression and economic ruin.

In the beginning, Stalin mentioned with pride his plan of forced land collectivisation, which he called his own, " third " revolution.

But the results of this renewed experience of integral communism were even more terrible than the first. In the Ukraine alone, over five million perished from famine. The sensational trials of Zinovieff, Kameneff, Radek, Sokolnikoff, etc. (all of them champions of October), have fully brought to light the fact that in 1931-33, the old Bolsheviks, Lenin's truest lieutenants, were panic-stricken, and actually conspired to overthrow Stalin.

It was during those critical years of forced collectivisation that Stalin broke away from the ideological leaders of Lenin's old party. Thus began the period of so-called " Stalinism," whose ideology and quality profoundly differ from " Leninism."

Naturally, Stalin directed his first attack against the Party's left wing, for it was the left wing, inspired by Trotsky's fanatical demagogy, which had been responsible for the severe crisis of the first Five Year Plan.

Meaning of the Purges

Stalin ruthlessly pursued the destruction of the party ideology, and the " clean up " of the inner opposition. The " heroes of October " have been successively denounced as criminals and traitors. The official Soviet organ *The Bolshevik* (May 15, 1937) proclaims that the old Bolsheviks " proved to be the *most convenient agents* of such infamous crimes as spying, sabotage, terrorism, high treason, which have become during recent years the *current and favourite methods* directed against the socialist State of workmen and peasants." And Stalin's official organ further declares : " recent events have proved the existence of a *largely practised system of sabotage*, such as the wrecking of tools and machinery, incendiarism and the destruction of socialist property, especially of means of transport."

It is clear that Stalin's accusations, as well as those of the President of the Sovnarkom, Molotoff, are chiefly a method of " explaining away " and of hiding the ruin of the whole system of Soviet industry, transportation and agriculture. But these very accusations deal a deathly blow to the prestige of the Party, and especially to the official proletarian ideology which inspired it.

Meanwhile, Russia's population has become something very different from what it used to be in 1917-1923. Over 63 per cent. of this population know nothing of the conditions which existed before the war and the Revolution. Twenty years of Bolshevik dictatorship

have on the other hand inspired the Russian people with a profound distaste for communist ideology. The young generation does not only aspire towards material well-being, which it has never known, but also towards free, unofficial thought.

Having disavowed the old party ideal, Stalin is leading this new generation back to Russian ideals—Russian history, literature, art and religion. Proletarian internationalism is being replaced by patriotic and national slogans.

Curiously enough, this resurrection of national ideals is serving the dictator's aims. The old proletarian spirit, the call to arms, in order " to storm Berlin and Warsaw " are dead. Today, Germany and Japan are eagerly watching for the moment when Russia will be ripe for a new dismemberment, a second Brest-Litovsk. The hour

Red Army Commander: "RIGHT TURN!"

Political Commissars: "Aha! A Counter revolutionary!"

"Simplicissimus," Munich.

Note: Communist Party members have been attached to the Army in order to keep it up to the Bolshevik mark.

has come to think of national defence, and patriotism has become a vital necessity.

But this is not enough. The international menace has obliged Stalin to enter upon an alliance with the " bourgeois " democratic States, and to defend a " united front." In accordance with the aims of Soviet diplomacy, Stalin has proclaimed " the most democratic constitution in the world." Let us note that Article 126 of this Constitution, imitating Hitler's system, grants the population a secret ballot vote, but leaves the selection of candidates to the monopolistic and exclusive Communist Party.

Stalin declares that " our land is the land of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, governed by a single party, the Communist Party, which does not and cannot share its power with other parties " (*The Bolshevik*, May 1, 1937).

This combination of democracy and dictatorship, which is practically speaking a sheer impossibility, is one of the most typical traits of Stalinism.

The Personal Dictatorship

Such a combination—the " mixing up " of two political systems—is in itself an extremely dangerous game. Stalin knows all too well that the " Proletarian Revolution " is extinct (and this is the great difference between Leninism and Stalinism). And, knowing as much, Stalin continually repeats that the Soviet Union is a " classless society," which has definitely freed itself from the fetters of capitalism. Yet he goes on to say that whilst the classes have been destroyed, the struggle against the " class-enemies " is becoming even more bitter. This idea of " class-strife " is necessary, inasmuch as it allows Stalin to maintain the formula of " Dictatorship of the Proletariat," which today practically means Stalin's *personal* dictatorship.

True, the Communist Party still enjoys its monopoly, but it is a very different party from the one which existed in Lenin's days. It has become Stalin's *own* party ; only those who admit Stalin's political autocracy, and accept Stalin's economic programme, can become its members. The others have been ruthlessly cast out and replaced.

Stalinism is a formidable apparatus of dictatorship, an instrument of terror, a political system which has been gradually emptied of all its former ideological meaning. Stalinism practically means the

destruction of Leninism at the hands of his direct successor. But what is to happen further, what is the ultimate issue of this evolution?

At present, the Soviet oligarchy, which shares Stalin's power, is composed of six men ; two former ministers, Kaganovitch and Molotoff, two Marshals, Voroshiloff and Egoroff, two party-secretaries, Akuloff and Ejoff, the latter having replaced Yagoda at the head of the police.

Those who are well informed concerning conditions in Moscow are of the opinion that the influence of the military staff is even stronger than that of the Central Committee ; we also know that the political organs of the army are controlled by the Minister of War. A few months ago one could speak of the " Fascisation of Bolshevism " ; to-day, it would be more correct to call this process " the militarisation of Bolshevism."

A bitter strife is actually going on amongst the army leaders. The group Stalin-Voroshiloff-Ejoff is struggling against another group, as yet unknown to us. High officials are being hastily replaced and party bureaucrats demoted.* The entire political and bureaucratic apparatus is panic-stricken, whilst the economic situation is growing *from bad to worse.* Stalin, himself, having broken away from the old party, the political police and the Red Army, finds himself in an extremely isolated position.

Ruin Ahead

Russia's Dictator can maintain himself for a time, hiding his autocracy behind the words of democracy. But Russia needs something more than words. Russia needs real liberty for, as the Moscow trials have amply proved, without liberty the State's economic structure is condemned to ruin, and becomes the prey of ruthless and unscrupulous officials.

This is why it appears to me that the destiny of Stalinism and of Stalin himself is doomed to be tragic. For between two systems, dictatorship and democracy, which he vainly seeks to combine, a dictator will always prefer the former.

But I am firmly convinced that Stalinism marks the ultimate stage of Bolshevism, the eclipse of Proletarian Internationalism, which has for so long threatened Russia.

* Written just prior to the execution of Marshal Tukhatchevsky and the seven other Red Army Chiefs. M. Kerensky referred in a footnote to their arrest as symptomatic.

FROM A GENEVA NOTEBOOK

by ULYSSES

(Our Geneva Correspondent)

Do-Nothing Britain

THE renewed appeal of the Republican Government of Spain against German and Italian intervention in the Civil War came before the Council of the League at the end of May. The net result of the meeting was that Spain received no help at all from the League, but that she derived considerable propaganda benefit from the speeches made by her representative, Señor del Vayo.

At the end of the meeting, the Council adopted a resolution supporting the British Government's schemes for securing the withdrawal of all non-Spanish combatants from the war, deplored the use of certain methods of warfare and regretted that the non-Intervention Committee had not yet met with complete success in its efforts.

The most striking feature of the meeting and the discussions which went on about it in private, as well as of the Spanish accusations made at the Council table, was the manner in which, in the vast, majority of cases, Italy rather than Germany was singled out for blame. The reason for this distinction was generally supposed in Geneva to be that an agreement had been made in Paris between Señor del Vayo and the British and French that if he handled Germany delicately, he would obtain some satisfaction—only of the moral sort, of course—in his charges against the Italians. The point of this was the belief in British circles that Germany might be willing to withdraw from Spain—a belief carefully fostered by Marshal von Blomberg in the talks he had in London during the Coronation celebrations. If all the blame were thrown on Italy, Germany might withdraw from Spain without loss of face, and as Mussolini is obliged for the sake of his prestige to keep on to the bitter end with his struggle in Spain, there might have been a chance of giving the Berlin-Rome axis a nasty twist. This was what the British came to Geneva to do, and inasmuch as they were able to persuade both the Spanish Government and the Council to leave the Germans alone they were successful. Unhappily, immediately after the Council session ended there came the news of the shelling of Almeria, and Mr. Eden's chess-board

moves, for the sake of which all League principles had been jettisoned, looked simply silly.

They looked especially silly in view of the double attitude taken by the British Government. Lip service is paid to the League in public, but the British delegation in Geneva was careful to point out that what it wanted to do was to muzzle the Council, and get everything hushed up and returned in safety to the Non-intervention Committee which then, according to them, would be able to continue its successful efforts to enforce the non-intervention agreements.

The most notorious of these attempts to prevent the Council members from expressing views likely to offend Hitler and Mussolini —for, although it had been decided to put nearly all the blame on Italy, it was also decided that that blame should not be too heavy— was the incident between Mr. Eden and Mr. Jordan, the delegate of New Zealand.

Much has already been written about this, and much more is likely to be written in the near future. It was a particularly painful business for the friends of Mr. Eden, for that section of Geneva opinion which dislikes or distrusts him could simply say " I told you so " when reports were received that Mr. Eden had succeeded in dissuading Mr. Jordan from making a vigorous speech in defence of the Spanish republic, and from presenting a resolution declaring that Germany and Italy had infringed Article X of the Covenant by violating Spain's territorial integrity and political independence. Mr. Eden certainly brought a great deal of pressure to bear on Mr. Jordan. Whether he exceeded legitimate bounds cannot be definitely established. Certainly nearly all his opponents and the opponents of the present British foreign policy in Geneva were convinced that he did. The more so as circumstantial accounts of what happened were forthcoming from persons now engaged in London in denying that there ever was any incident at all.

Muzzling the British Press

The case against Mr. Eden, in the minds of these people, was strengthened by the peculiar behaviour of the British delegation throughout the Council session. It is always difficult to criticise, even indirectly, honourable and loyal civil servants, engaged in doing their duty as they see it. What members of the British delegation

did do at Geneva, they did because of the policy decided in advance in Downing Street, but what they did do was thoroughly bad, individually and collectively.

The treatment of the British Press was most unusual and, garnished with a great deal of exaggeration, has served to stir up further anti-Eden and anti-British feeling in Geneva. The Press representatives were spoken to (though not by Mr. Eden) in tones contrasting strikingly with the tact and diplomacy which the British delegation in Geneva habitually uses to put before British correspondents its point of view.

Discourtesy to the Dominions

Complaints were also made by Dominion delegations in Geneva that they were treated with gross discourtesy by members of the British delegation responsible for keeping them informed, and that, in addition, the information that they did get was on occasion simply not true.

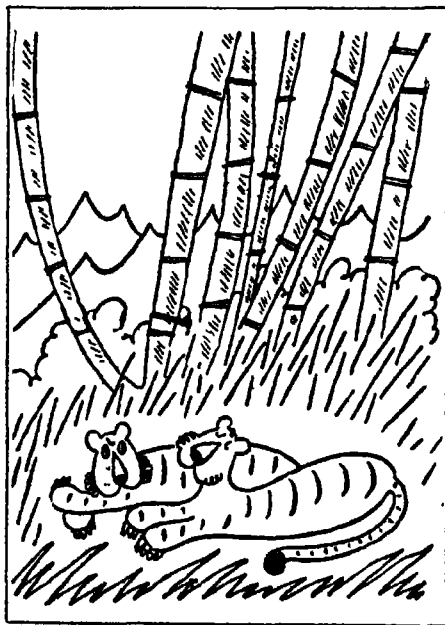
Altogether, though these grievances may seem petty compared with the scale upon which events are developing in the world today, it was a bad session, for these grievances are symptomatic either of a gross dereliction of duty by Foreign Office officials, or else of a decision by the British Government that it is a good idea to deceive and bully Dominion representatives and give "suggestions" to the British Press which were in their tone strikingly like the orders given to the Italian Press by the Fascist Government. However, there is the very real and vital consolation that the "suggestions" were rejected almost unanimously by the British correspondents to whom they were made.

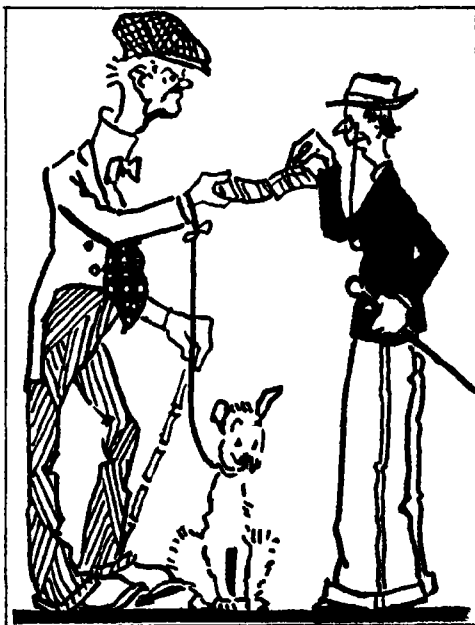
And there ends, for the time being, the League's official concern with the Spanish Civil War. The war goes on, and Italian troops continue their operations. At the present time there is little that contradicts the confident assertions of General Franco's agents in Geneva that victory will be his—the only contradiction being the lesson of history that when the Spanish worker and the Spanish peasant fight for something that they believe to be theirs by right, then they can, cost what it may, eventually bring their antagonists to surrender.

In the face of the killing that is going on now, and in the face of

the threat of more killing which is every day coming nearer and nearer, British policy is still the same. " Do Nothing—Wait . . . and Hope " is the slogan to which practical application was given by the British delegation at this last meeting of the Council.

All the hope which can be held out by Britain is that a sufficient number of millions of pounds may have been spent by her on her armaments that no one will dare to attack her. A dreadful state of armed peril may be achieved, but there is really nothing at all to justify the confident expectation of the British Foreign Office that all the world's problems are going to be settled by the rearmament programme.

Nor has the other big Geneva meeting of the past month—the Twenty-third Session of the International Labour Conference—shown any sign of a forward-looking attitude by the British Government to the problems which have to be faced. In foreign affairs, and in industrial and economic matters alike, the British standpoint, as seen from Geneva, is simply to do nothing.

"Prager Presse," Prague.

"Kindly remember, young man, that my papa is the Viceroy of India's bedside rug"

"Dublin Opinion."

"My son is playing Beethoven this evening."
"Does he expect to win?"

That this is the case is shown clearly by both sets of speeches delivered at Geneva at these recent meetings by Mr. Eden and by Mr. Ernest Brown, the Minister of Labour. Mr. Brown came to Geneva specially to talk at the general debate on the annual report of the Director of the International Labour Organisation, Mr. Harold Butler. When he spoke the British Minister confined himself to uttering, in his own inimitable fashion, a series of platitudes, and made no reference at all to the matters that are on the agenda of the Conference —notably the application of the forty-hour week to the textile, printing and chemical industries, as well as the raising of the minimum age for the employment of children from fourteen to fifteen.

Planning Wanted

The debates in this session of the Conference have been noteworthy for two things—first, the general measure of the return to prosperity which has been reported by delegates from all over the world and, second, the nearly universal belief that this prosperity is certain to prove only transitory unless immediate action is taken. A few employers' and government representatives have had the hardihood to tell the Conference that they do not believe in economic planning, but the vast majority have declared, in so many words, that unless they have plenty of planning, very soon, then the bubble of this return to a better state of world trade will be quickly pricked and that the next depression will be very much worse than the last.

However, there is nothing to suggest that anything is going to be done by more than a few enlightened governments—and it has been made quite clear that this is a problem that has to be tackled on a world scale. And there is no sign that this will be done.

Altogether May and June have been discouraging months in Geneva. Complete passivity in the face of great perils alike political and economic has been the keynote of almost all that has been happening. Britain's representatives have taken the lead in urging that this attitude be adopted.

NOT THAT ONE

General Ludendorff: " I take the old Teutons as my example in everything; their heroic heathen faith is my law "—all except the custom whereby army chiefs fell on their own swords after a lost battle.—" *Nebelspalter,*" *Rohrschach.*

WORLD AIR LINKS ~

The last links in the chain of airways round the world are being forged. Recent weeks have seen big advances made, the most dramatic being the establishment by Soviet airmen and scientists of a station on an ice floe at the North Pole for the study of conditions facing airmen flying from Moscow to San Francisco. The first trial flights of American and English machines over the North Atlantic, which herald the establishment of a passenger service from London to New York, are also due as we go to Press

VIA THE NORTH POLE TO AMERICA

From the "Journal de Moscou"

TWO air lines connecting the Soviet Union with the United States are under discussion.

The first would start at Moscow (passing over Scandinavia and Iceland), crossing the eastern states of North America, and finishing at New York and Washington. The second line would connect Russia with the western states of America.

"Moscow Daily News"

Now that a station has been established at the North Pole, it will probably be the Moscow-North Pole-Seattle-San Francisco route that will be followed for the first air-crossings between these two great countries.

The Arctic station at the North Pole has abundant information for the organisation of this aerial link. The pilot that undertakes the flight from Moscow to San Francisco will be able to acquire all the information he needs in the very heart of the Arctic. The systematic observations of the Soviet officials who have taken up quarters at the North Pole will form an exact chart of meteorological conditions for flights during the different periods of the Polar summer.

It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that we shall be able to discover the laws that govern the appearance or disappearance of fogs. It is equally possible that we shall be able to gauge the exact dimensions of polar cloud banks. The pilots will know in advance at what altitude to fly in every sort of weather.

Observations at the Polar Station will also finally destroy the legend that no reliance can be placed on the compass in the Polar region. The chart of magnetic deviations that the observers will eventually draw up will make it no longer necessary for airmen to look to the position of the sun for guidance. Orientation by the sun forces the pilot to fly above the clouds. With the help of the chart of magnetic deviations he will be able to fly at all altitudes, relying

"Planet News"

OFF ON A GREAT ADVENTURE

Professor Otto Schmidt (centre), hero of the Chelyuskin epic and leader of the Polar expedition, with I D Papanin, chief of the band of scientists, and M V Vodopyanov, pilot, before starting on their flight to the top of the world.

entirely on the apparatus on his switchboard. This will greatly simplify the technique of trans-Arctic flying.

The study of magnetic storms in the polar region will produce the answers to many questions of such paramount importance as the establishment of radio-beacons.

Ice Menace Overcome

These trans-Arctic flights are extremely dangerous. The controls very easily become iced. Soviet aviation has discovered ways of warding off this menace, and these methods can be extensively applied in trans-polar crossings.

It is still premature to talk of a regular service on this air-route. Intermediary aerodromes are, as yet, non-existent.

The multi-engined aeroplanes (passenger and cargo) that fly this route will have to have tremendous range. The weather may force the pilot to change his route at a moment's notice. Capacity is of the utmost importance. An aeroplane that can only carry a limited cargo

is in danger of becoming merely a kind of flying petrol tank and coul be of no economic advantage.

Aeroplanes are needed specially fitted to land on the ice. The must be able to make the crossings at great speed and height.

The Moscow-San Francisco air-route has entered the realm c reality. It will be the shortest connecting link between Europe an America, only about 6,250 miles.

SECRETS OF THE POLE
Examining the "Weather Kitchen"

by E. MIKLASHEVSKY

(Chief Engineer of the Polar Department of the Aerographic Institute of the Air Fleet)

From " Moscow Daily News "

ONE of the chief problems of the Soviet expedition to the North Pole is the study of the weather in the region of the North Pole. We possess at present almost no data on the weather in that region, as the observations of explorers who reached the North Pole were of such short duration that very little was furnished by them.

The basic weather data for the Polar region is obtained from meteorological stations in the far north, the Soviet station on Rudolf Island (Archipelago of Franz Josef Land) and the Norwegian station on Spitzbergen. But these two stations are about 625 miles away from the Pole.

To cover the region of the North Pole with a network of meteorological stations is one of the essential problems which must be solved in order to find the key to the weather of the entire northern hemisphere. The Central Administration of the Northern Sea Route organised in recent years a number of Polar meteorological stations, which surround the Pole in a close semi-circle on the Soviet side of the Arctic. But the meteorological stations are rather rare on the American side. No observations whatever are carried on at the Pole itself, and the region of the Pole remains so far the " mysterious weather kitchen " of the northern hemisphere.

From the above it is clear what tremendous significance will attach to the organisation of meteorological observations at the North Pole.

If these observations are conducted, any incipient change of the weather in the centre of the Polar region will at once be noted, its possible effect on the northern hemisphere will be taken into consideration, and weather forecasts will become considerably more reliable. There will be fewer cases of aeroplanes rushing unexpectedly into storm, fog and low clouds. There will be less loss of agricultural produce in our fields due to premature harvesting.

In order that the meteorological observations at the Pole may be of substantial usefulness, it is essential that they be conducted during a fairly long period.

Observations on land alone will not suffice. Of the utmost interest for weather forecasting, and especially for aviation, are phenomena in the air at some altitude above the earth. In the improved aerological instruments known as radio balloons the indications of the meteorological instruments in the air are automatically transmitted by radio to the earth. In simpler instruments automatic recording appliances are used.

How the Ice Moves

Of great scientific and practical significance will be the work of the Polar scientific station in studying the Arctic Sea. The water and ice are constantly in motion. The ice cover of the Arctic Sea, according to available data, moves all the time in a direction from the Bering Sea to the straits between Spitzbergen and Greenland.

It is as yet impossible to tell the movements of the water in the central part of the Arctic Ocean owing to the absence of necessary observations. It is quite clear, however, that the currents of the Arctic Sea, their changes from year to year, and the movement of the Polar ice floes exercise a very great influence on the ice situation along the Northern Sea Route. When the Arctic Ocean has been studied, it will be easier to predict the ice situation for the next year, and it will be easier to choose the most convenient route amid the ice floes for the convoying of vessels.

The station at the Pole will also have to carry out a series of hydrological observations. It will have to study the movement of ice near the Pole, the character and structure of the ice cover. It will

have to observe the sea currents at various depths. It will have to study the temperature and salinity of sea waters near the Pole, so as to ascertain from whence the water has flowed.

After the ill-starred Polar flight of the dirigible *Italia* in 1928, the attack on the Pole was given up by European countries. Most of them are not in a mood for Polar exploration just now. Only the land of victorious Socialism continues regularly to advance on the North Pole, and there is no doubt whatever that the credit of scientific mastery of the North Pole will belong to us.

SYMBOLS OF LIFE

From "Pravda," Moscow

THE Soviet airmen have stormed the North Pole and captured it. A new page has been added to the glorious history of Soviet aviation. A new chapter has been written in the history of the conquest of nature by man. In letters of gold the future historians of mankind will inscribe this generous contribution of the brave Soviet explorers to the treasury of human knowledge.

While the Soviet planes were courageously fighting against formidable obstacles set up by nature, German bombers were wiping out peaceful cities in Spain, destroying age-old cultural monuments, mowing down with machine-gun fire defenceless women and children. The black wings of the fascist airplanes have become a dark symbol of death, destruction, horror and vandalism. . . . The bright wings of the Soviet, Stalinist planes are a symbol of life, creation, peace and culture.

NORTH POLE MENUS

From the "Journal de Moscou"

THE Institute of Public Nourishment has prepared a stock of food sufficient to last the settlers who will winter at the Pole for two years. Some of the articles have been specially treated by a pressure process—cream, butter, caviare, cheese, chocolate, etc. Then come a number of concentrated products : 1,000 kilograms of meat and poultry, and 150 kilograms of soup (beetroot, cabbage, etc.). Fifty

head of cattle, 5,500 chickens and 3 tons of vegetables and other foodstuffs were used in the manufacture of these concentrated products.

The foundation of the settlers' daily rations are two tablets, weighing 170 grammes each, containing chicken that has been first roasted and then dried, with pork fat, and cooked and dried vegetables.

These tablets are better than the pemmican with which Amundsen, Scott and Peary equipped themselves for their arctic and antarctic expeditions. Pemmican is a mixture of dried meat and fat. It has to be cooked before eating, and is, besides, very monotonous fare.

Soviet pemmican has all the properties of ordinary pemmican ; but, in addition, it has a very good taste, and one does not get sick of it. In ten or fifteen minutes it can be made into soup. Should no fire be available, it can be eaten with bread or cake. Two tablets of Soviet pemmican contain 2,200 calories.

The North Pole settlers will have four meals a day, and each meal will consist of three or four dishes.

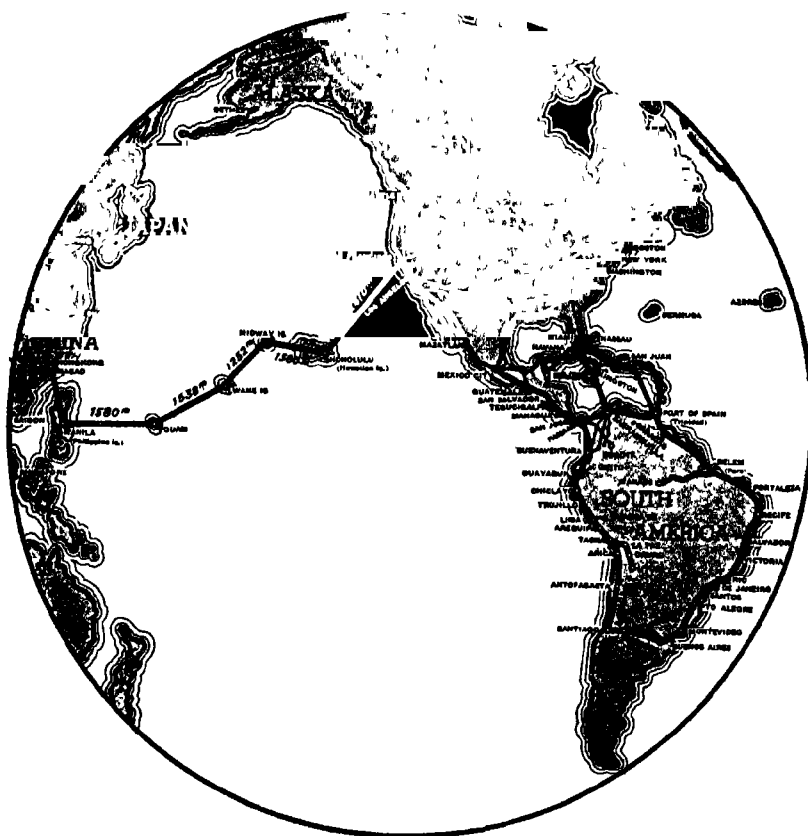
OVER THE PACIFIC BY AIR

From the " Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," Berlin

To America belongs the credit for the air conquest of the Pacific. For some months now giant liners have been flying between California and China, and a side-line to New Zealand is in the experimental stage

WE have received an envelope which is interesting both from the point of view of world trade and from that of philately, for it was sent by the first West-East flight over the Pacific from Hong Kong via Manila and the American islands of Guam, Wake Island, Midway Island, and Hawaii to San Francisco. The letter was posted and registered at Shanghai on the 26th of April, arrived at San Francisco on 4th May and on 18th May at 9.10 was stamped at Berlin post office S.W.68.

The airline now opened over the Pacific was very carefully planned by Pan-American Airways. All the big aeroplanes installed are called " Clippers " ; the first which opened the West-East service was the " Hong Kong Clipper." This plane arrived at Hong Kong from San Francisco on the 28th of April. The next objective was a

weekly airmail service between America and China. With the opening of the air service between the U.S.A. and China, a year after the Chinese air service had been connected with the European network, the last link in the chain of the round-the-world airmail service was forged.

"World Trade," Paris

PAN-AMERICAN AIRWAYS TRANS-PACIFIC ROUTE

The course to be covered by the aeroplanes is seen in the accompanying sketch map. The side-line from San Francisco to New Zealand is still in the experimental stage. Instead of a 19-day journey by steamer, the distance will be covered in four days by aeroplane, with intermediate landings at Honolulu, Kingman Reef and Pago Pago. The regular passenger service will begin in six months' time.

The trans-Pacific airline cost a great deal. A million dollars was spent on the sea-airport of Wake Island and half that sum on that of Midway Island. It is true that the advantages of this expenditure will not be confined to the civil air-service, for it is of the highest strategic importance in the event of war. By the possession of these bases America puts herself within flying range of the Japanese islands north of the equator.

In about two years Martin-Clipper aeroplanes with sleeping cabins, will be put into service ; these will have a top speed of 350 kilometres per hour. The fare for the entire trip is about £210, about twice as much as passage on a first-class steamer.

The schedule for the East-West flight from San Francisco is as follows : The entire flight with stops, six days. Departure from San Francisco on Wednesday. Arrival in Honolulu on Thursday, the longest single stretch. In Honolulu 24 hours' stop for inspection and rest. On Friday, about 10 hours to Midway Island, a coral reef, where a hotel has been built. A night is spent there, and on Saturday off to little Wake Island where there is also a newly-erected hotel. Sunday to Guam and Monday to Manila. Arrival on Tuesday with connection to Hong Kong.

From the outset there has been a very large demand for accommodation.

TRAGEDY ON THE AIRWAYS
The Value of Blind Flying

From " The Sydney Mail," Australia

Disasters have not yet been eliminated from civil aviation, but the latest inventions in blind flying remove the worst terrors of fog and cloud. One of the most marvellous of the new devices now being adopted all over the world is that of the German Lorenz blind landing system, described here

THE Commonwealth Government has decided to amend the air navigation regulations to compel interstate passenger 'planes to be fitted with two-way wireless equipment. In addition, direction-finding appliances are to be installed at Sydney, Brisbane, and Mel-

bourne. This decision was reached following the latest major tragedy on the Australian airlines—the loss of five lives when the Stinson mail 'plane disappeared for over a week.

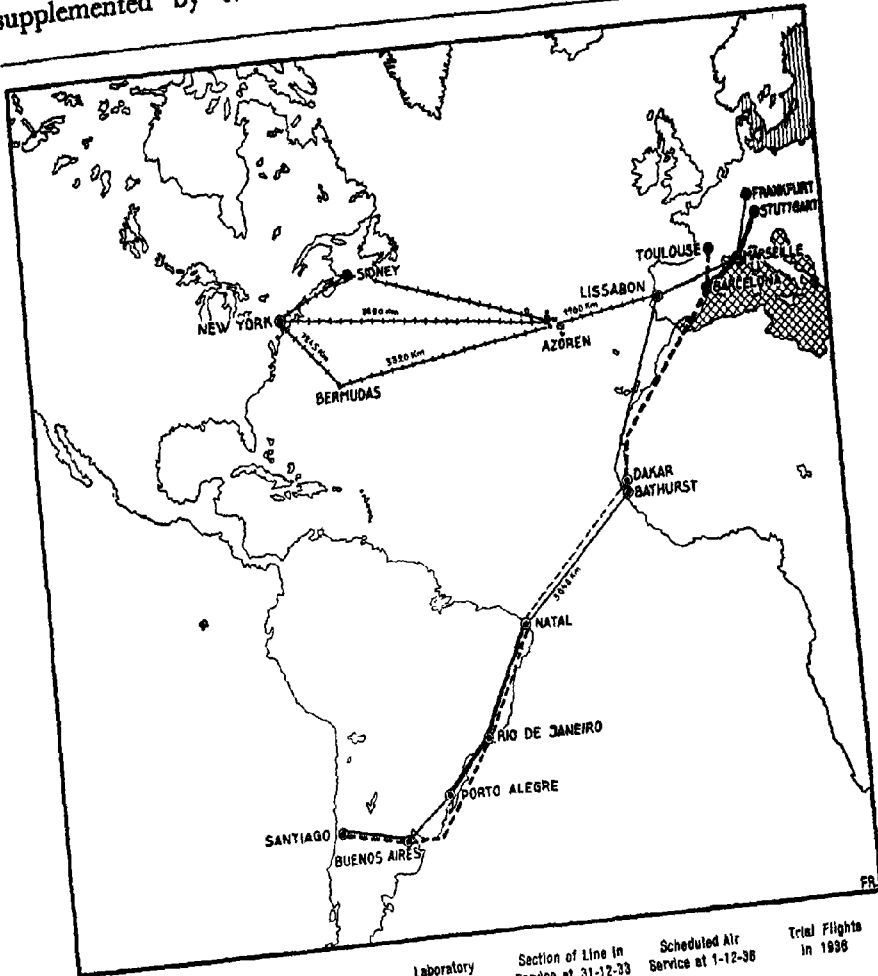
The Commonwealth Government has had to face a storm of criticism over its failure to provide adequate ground organisation on the Australian air routes, and for not insisting on the installation of wireless in the past. The mysterious disappearance of the *Southern Cloud* in 1931, when on a regular flight from Sydney to Melbourne, first directed attention to the need for radio to keep in touch with an aeroplane lost in a storm. The value of wireless in guiding a pilot through rain, fog, or darkness was also dramatically demonstrated during the Centenary Air Race when the Dutch entrant, the huge Douglas airliner, was lost in the night over southern New South Wales and Victoria. On that occasion the pilots sent out continuous wireless calls asking for their position.

Down to Earth in Fog

It will be seen, therefore, that the present demand for the installation of wireless on all passenger 'planes is not a new departure. Wireless as an aid to flying has been in use for a number of years, and in America and Europe remarkable accuracy has been achieved in guiding an aeroplane right down to earth by means of the radio beam, even when the weather conditions have been so bad that the pilot could not see more than ten yards in front of him.

As the result of experiments conducted over the last twelve months, it is now announced that the Lorenz directional beam and blind-flying system is to be developed on the Australian airways. A simple explanation of how the scheme operates is of interest. A German scientist, who has carried out innumerable experiments, has stated that the system is based on the theory that wireless waves are like ripples in a pool of water, which radiate outwards when an object is dropped in the centre. In wireless these radiating ripples are kept under control. A transmitter sends out deformed radio beams which provide a flight path to and from the aerodrome, and by using suitable instruments a pilot is able to follow this path even at night-time, and is provided with an indication of his lateral and vertical position even though he cannot see outside the cabin of his machine.

In Europe one side of the beam sends out a series of long dashes

in morse, and the other side a series of short dots. Both systems are supplemented by two marker beacons, transmitting upwards at

Deutsche Lufthansa map from "World Trade," Paris

ATLANTIC AIRWAYS

Across the South Atlantic, German and French machines have been running a regular postal service for years. With the use of a base on the west coast of Ireland reserved for English and American Companies in collaboration, the Germans have turned to the Azores and Bermudas for their trial flights over the North Atlantic

carefully arranged distances from the airport, to be used in conjunction with a previously reset sensitive altimeter. By flying on a memorised series of flying and engine speeds, the pilot is able to provide the correct approach angle after crossing the first market beacon at a pre-determined height. By reading the altimeter at the instant of passing the first beacon the pilot learns his exact height, and, knowing the distance to the next beacon, is able to adjust his angle of glide to bring him over the second beacon at a suitable height to complete the landing.

Two-way Telephony

In addition to the directional radio, it is proposed that all transport 'planes in Australia be fitted with two-way wireless telephony. This will enable the pilots to keep in touch with ground stations during the whole of the time they are in the air. They will be able to receive weather reports at intervals and obtain all the necessary information as to conditions ahead.

AMBULANCE 'PLANES

The Qantas company is converting two D.H. Fox Moth 'planes into ambulance 'planes at the Archerfield aerodrome for service in the far west. At present the company has two similar machines operating from Longreach and Cloncurry, and the additional two will mean a wider service. The 'planes are capable of carrying a pilot, a patient, and a doctor or nurse, who will be seated at the head of the patient. Recently a woman who tripped and shot herself near the heart while running down the steps of her house in Cracow to shoot a death-adder was brought by one of these aerial ambulances to Brisbane, and was successfully operated on.—*Sydney Mail*

NOW WE KNOW

If women had not gone on reducing diets the recent world depression would never have occurred, Professor Norman W. DeWitt of Victoria College, told the Board of Trade Club in the King Edward Hotel last night.—*Toronto Daily Star*, quoted by *New Republic*, N.Y.

WE QUITE UNDERSTAND

A Milwaukee farmer has murdered his wife and his eight children by blowing up his house with a stick of dynamite.

The murderer, John Waszac, confessed that he decided to blow up his family in a moment of depression after a long day's work, because his wife and his children were getting on his nerves by singing and dancing to the wireless.—*Dépêche de Toulouse.*

NO WAR!

From " Der Angriff" (organ of Dr. Goebbels), Berlin, 2.6.37

What is Germany's attitude towards non-intervention? Here one of the leading Nazi papers advocates isolation of the conflict, and defends the Almeria affair

A FEW shots only need be fired somewhere one fine day, and we shall have war again in Europe! Remember Sarajevo! The act of a lunatic, of a little band of conspirators, might suffice to set the gigantic war machines of all States in motion!

Such warnings have been heard for years. The Americans, and the people of the English Dominions especially, are suspicious of a Europe which is a prey to nerves and feelings of uncertainty. They seem to themselves to be so much calmer, more clear-sighted and sensible than we in this quarrelsome, cock-eyed old part of the earth.

The bombs which fell on our battleship, and the shells which were fired at Almeria by our ships, certainly did make them and many anxious Europeans hold their breath. But it turned out that, in spite of this sudden recourse to arms, Europe did not move to war.

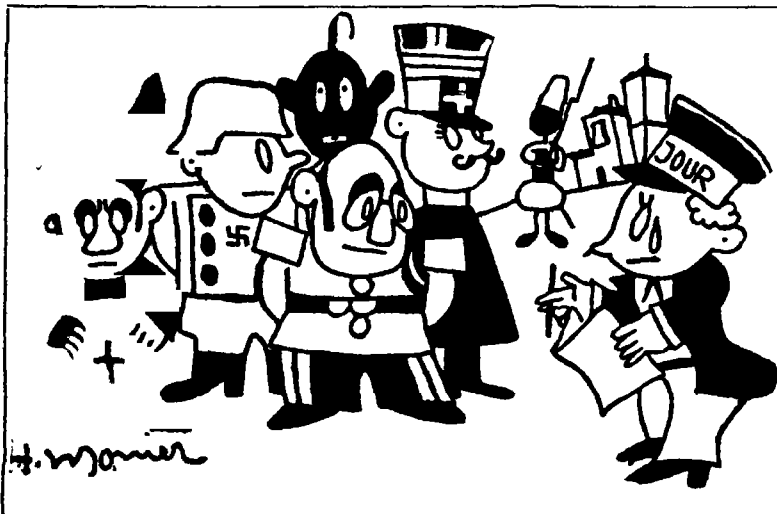
Why not? Because sufficient safeguards have been incorporated in the structure of European politics? Because the League of Nations takes prompt effect at such a moment? Because a Committee functioned? One cannot maintain that any of these was the cause. It must, therefore, have been something else which influenced the various governments.

However little one can reckon in international relations on clear and continued feelings, and on the durability of mutual sympathies, nevertheless it is evident that sudden acts of violence undertaken by any side against all the rules of international law do arouse everyone's sense of justice. Involuntarily everyone turns against the guilty party, and involuntarily everyone thinks of the penance that must follow such a deed.

Now it is rather different if one is oneself involved in an affair, or if one is only a spectator. If at first people said in London that after all English ships too had been repeatedly in danger off the Spanish coast, and that Germany, instead of taking reprisals imme-

diately, should have extracted herself from the affair through the normal diplomatic channels—that is the wisdom of a country whose own flag had not at that moment been attacked, and whose own seamen had not met their death.

It is certainly correct that England, with all the weapons which she holds ready, does unsheathe the sword as seldom as possible, but it is not so long ago that we noticed British troops inflicting immediate reprisals with arms in the mandated territory of Palestine ; and in Waziristan too, a commission did not gather round a table, but 30,000 troops marched in to deal with attacks. There are things which can be swallowed, and things to which one can only react with the fist, if one does not wish to forfeit respect completely. This rule of the game tacitly holds good for Europe, especially in the case of Spain.

The affair did not, in spite of this, set Europe in warlike motion. Why not ? Certainly all statesmen have the feeling today that the risks of a war are too great—but also there was no cause for whose sake the peoples could be sent to war with real inner conviction. Spain is the scene of a *tragedy*—that is felt everywhere in Europe. For months a movement aiming at ending this tragedy has been evident. A number of States wish for a victory of the Valencia Government, others are thinking of a partition of Spain, Paris hopes for a Popular Front system, but not one of the European Powers wants to see as a

GENERAL MOLA DIES

" Did he leave any orphans ? "

" About a million and a half "

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

result of this frightful year of Spanish self-mutilation a regime of disorder, a system of banditry, a lasting source of unrest established in the Mediterranean.

In spite of the bombing attack and the withdrawal of the German and Italian units from control* Spain must continue to be kept within bounds by Europe. If such a thing as a European community exists at all, it is as a community against a common danger, and that this danger is not smaller but greater after the bombing attacks will be clear to everyone.

We have said long enough that in Spain not only Spanish affairs are at stake, but that a system is at work there whose means and methods have been obtained from Moscow, and which is not only fighting the national forces of Spain, but at the same time attacking those Powers which have taken the most drastic means to exterminate all possibility of Bolshevism in their own lands.

The Bolshevik forces are not only directed against Italy and Germany but wish to destroy the whole system of quarantine. But Europe must hold fast to this system—only the methods used must be such that Bolshevism really feels them at last.

PORTUGAL STANDS FIRM BY BRITAIN

From "Diario de Noticias," Lisbon

Britain is allied to one Fascist dictatorship, that of Portugal, whose sentiments are strongly in favour of General Franco. Efforts to secure non-intervention have led to criticism of Britain among some of Portugal's most fiery Fascists, but, as this article shows, the Government remains firmly convinced of the value of British friendship

IN the National Assembly, Commander Alvaro Morna emphasised that the Government was very necessarily well informed as to the role Portugal would have to perform in the event of it being found

* *Germany and Italy agreed to return on June 12 to the Non-Intervention Control Scheme.*

that only war could resolve the ideological, political and economi crisis through which Europe is now passing.

The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance is the work of the intelligence c kings and statesmen who, for centuries, have governed the two peoples but Nature and History created and consolidated the factors, physica and political, which promoted and maintain this alliance ; the mai who, whether in London or in Lisbon, proposed to react against thi imperative order of Nature and History, could not be called othe than a criminal.

We have a great interest in the maintenance of British power anc prestige. Anything that might damage or diminish it would damag or threaten us. It is necessary to bear this truth in mind always and it is important that it should penetrate the minds of all those who beyond our frontiers, may entertain the vain idea of supposing tha our sympathy for their particular political ideas might neutralise th powerful instinct which, in the critical hours of world affairs, now a in 1914, in 1914 as a century earlier, found us lined up with Britain's soldiers and sailors.

Support for Order

Those Portuguese who serve Western Order and Civilisatior understand and applaud England when she refuses to abdicate th position she occupies in this world ; is it likely that those who, in th name of ideas and principles which are dear to us, attack the Britisl Empire, would have the necessary capacity to serve this same Orde and this same Civilisation with the dignity and greatness of which sh (Great Britain) daily gives us the finest examples ? Is it likely tha they would know how to employ the Power that Great Britain possesse with the same discretion and pacifying influence ? We, Portuguese reply, categorically, No !

It is not the fault of England if the defence of her legitimat interests obliges her at certain times to adopt attitudes apparentl contradictory to her incontestible fidelity to the traditional principle of Order. Knowing that her prestige and her power have been, fo the last hundred years, the most solid prop of Christian and Latir Order, there are no reasons to fear that a victory on the part of th enemies of this Order could be produced by any diplomatic or militar triumphs of the British monarchy.

NORTH AFRICAN FERMENT

FRANCE'S ALGERIAN TROUBLES

by JEAN DE BEAUMONT (*Deputy*)

From " *Marianne*," *Paris*, 19.5.37

Great poverty, the use of Moors by General Franco to fight Spaniards, the riots in Palestine, the independence of Syria, and constant Fascist and Communist propaganda have all intensified the " malaise algérien " *which afflicts France's North African colony. Here a member of the commission of enquiry, which was sent out to investigate causes of Arab unrest, gives an account of affairs there. The latest news from Algeria tells of a terrible famine and the spread of disease*

OF all problems in Algeria that of hunger is, beyond all question, the cruellest and most important. Algeria, though a hot country during the summer months, is a land where, during the winter, the ragged poor perish of famine and cold. A tremendous relief effort was made a year ago, more than 500,000,000 francs being expended on the unfortunate population, and 450,000 quintals of wheat, 100,000 of barley, and 30,000 of rice distributed in an effort to stem famine.

The Arab, there is no doubt, is usually content to lead a life of sweet *far niente* in the sun. Though there are large numbers who prefer the direst poverty to work, others are continually clamouring for an opportunity of making a livelihood.

We have seen towns where hundreds of people in multi-coloured rags, with sunken faces and fleshless bones live in hovels which have to be seen to be believed. We have seen entire villages and suburbs that have grown up on the outskirts of the larger towns like some hideous leprosy. Whole cities have sprung up, built entirely of planks and petrol-tins, where swarms of ill-tended children grow up in the dust and stagnant water. Small wonder that so many children, in spite of the healthy climate, are scrofulous and blind.

Much praise is due to private enterprises and the Administration for what has already been undertaken, but there is still a great deal of work ahead before the lot of those unfortunate children is remedied for good.

Every year, when the pasturelands of the Sahara are exhausted, the nomad herds head northwards along their traditional highways in search of their summer grazing-land.

This year, the southern pastures, dried up by the unseasonal and persistent desert winds, are not sufficient to support the herds, which are two months ahead of their yearly exodus. A frightening question arises out of this, for they will soon be among the crops before the latter have been harvested. There is grave risk of trouble in this situation, for, if the cattle cannot find nourishment, they will waste away and die, causing the acutest distress to thousands of human beings ; or, driven by hunger, they will ravage the crops of the French settlers, who are anything but prepared to suffer such an invasion gladly.

It is true to say of Algeria that " when agriculture prospers, everything prospers." It is, indeed, the settlers who have built up the wealth of this country, a fact that must not be forgotten. It is this community that, from father to son, has worked with perseverance and determination, as only the French peasant knows how to work.

It is, in particular, the ten thousand odd colonisers from Alsace-Lorraine, who, leaving their country for Algeria after 1871, in order to avoid becoming German citizens, have given value to a land that is in many ways unproductive, with the assistance of a working-class that is often poor in quality. These same colonisers, attached as they are to the soil, have not always realised that slow evolution was needed, especially in their own interests. And if there are some who live in a state of perfect understanding with their employees, there are others, a minority, who exploit them in a regrettable fashion. The mischievous elements would be delighted to see an outbreak of discord between the settlers and the natives, when only their close collaboration could be in any way productive.

Terror of Arab Rising

The announcement of the *Projet Violette** has caused acute disquiet among certain people. Some think that the situation is much graver than the French administration is ready to admit. The natives, they say, encouraged by unknown mystics and fanatics, are in danger of fomenting disorders arising out of their miserable living conditions.

The settlers, whose homes are far from the towns, have anxiously

* The Bill giving the vote to certain categories of Arabs on an equality with French colonists.

described to us their terror of seeing their wives and children disembowelled one night in their isolated farmsteads ; violence which would not be due, they say, to a deep-rooted movement of the masses, but to the handiwork of a few agitators among the credulous population.

The masses only want one thing—food. They want their families to be able to live and develop ; and that is why, in the distant regions of Algeria, the *Projet Violette* finds no echo, as it does not embody the real aspirations of these often ignorant and famine-stricken communities.

For them France represents a symbol of progress, but they do not know that, at the base of all our efforts, there lies a disturbing demographic problem. As fast as help is meted out by the application of hygiene, infant mortality declines, and the population increases. How can work be provided for this population, which we are helping to augment ?

At the moment, they cannot tolerate the fact that Spaniards, Italians and other foreigners can easily become full French citizens, while they themselves must remain citizens of a lower degree, despite all their sacrifices during the Great War. Nor can they understand that their being ruled by Koranic laws excludes them from the enjoyment of full French citizenship. They are prepared, however, to abandon the Koran and become real citizens ; for have they not borne arms against their Moslem brothers (while fighting for France in Morocco) which is forbidden in the Koran, which says : " He who kills a Moslem is worthy of eternal damnation "?

Politics with Guns

In the Oran district it is quite different. There it is no longer a social problem but a political one. The mental outlook in these parts has reached the point of paroxysm ; riots and skirmishes are continually occurring. Public gatherings take place in different quarters " with revolver in pocket, and carbine in hand." At Mostagenem, shortly before our visit, the police had held up a succession of motor-cars, all filled with " honest militants " who, on their way to a meeting, were taking firearms with them to show their convictions !

Still more astonishing things take place. Several months ago in a large town of 200,000 inhabitants, merchants solemnly told us that

they could not go to open up shop of a morning without a sporting gun on their back. . . . It is incredible, but true.

There have also been cases, during popular balls, of large quantities of chlorohydrate acid being flung in the faces of people coming out. Hundreds of vineyards belonging to the settlers have been ransacked and cut to pieces by night, and stacks fired.

The Oran district is not only the seat of these riots *par excellence* ; it is also the department where anti-semitic propaganda reaches its highest pitch. The deep-sunken roots of this feeling lie, probably, in jealousy. The Jew is, as a race, more hard-working than the Arab, far more capable than the native, and generally succeeds where everyone else has failed. The Jew in North Africa is a skilful trader, a clever money-lender, and is always mixed up in every business transaction.

Gigantic swastikas, painted by unknown hands, appear on the walls or windows of Jewish shops. Tracts of all kinds—even bank notes—are in circulation, with the words " Death to the Jews " inscribed upon them, and Jewish children dare not go to school for fear of bullying from their schoolfellows.

Ministers with Harems?

This *Projet Blum-Violette* has sown the seeds of hope among the native masses, and although it is anti-democratic, as it only applies to a chosen few, it seems to represent a straight path to full French citizenship. It is still, beyond question, the best scheme so far brought forward, providing that it does not create a class of privileged citizens.

It is hard to grasp the conception of from 20,000 to 25,000 freshly made citizens who would have neither the same obligations nor the same responsibilities as the citizens of the mother-country. It is unthinkable that one of these new citizens, with none of the civic rights of, say, a Basque, a Breton, or a *Lorrain*, should be able to arrive at the highest governmental positions in France. The mind boggles at the thought of one of these new citizens, having clambered to the loftiest peak of power—for nothing is impossible—installing his household in the Elysée with, not *one* veiled helpmeet, but a whole harem!

It is just and proper that a certain *élite* should become French citizens ; but they must be citizens in the full sense of the word, subject to the Civil Code, and not to their local laws and customs.

What, then, are the solutions to this very complex problem, on which the fate of three French Departments depends?

The first is, without doubt, the necessity of protecting the native against himself, and of abolishing extortionate money-lending, which is a festering sore on the country's economy. We must also supply suitable methods to attach the native permanently to the soil, by slowly but progressively suppressing the exodus that crams the towns to bursting-point and foments so much discontent. The needy fellaheen must be allowed to work singly or in partnership, but with the most modern methods. We must, in fact, create a clan of rural artisans; for, to give instruction without providing the opportunity of using it to a practical and profitable purpose, is as criminal as providing appetites that one cannot satisfy. It is much better to create specialists and qualified workers by opening professional schools than creating, as we do, a class of diploma-ed graduates with no work to do, who become, of necessity embittered.

The work that lies ahead of France in this direction is still enormous; but one cannot help admiring the magnificent progress that the French genius has made in scarcely a century of colonial history. To bring the labour to its accomplished end, we must go ahead without weakness, relying on all the authority at our disposal, but with the most impartial justice.

MOROCCAN INTRIGUES
What is Germany up to?

From "Le Petit Marocain," Casablanca (French Morocco)

A feature of the Spanish situation is the number of contradictory reports which come from the various parties to the struggle. Even neutral press representatives have reported differently on the presence or non-presence of German troops in Spanish Morocco. Here is what an independent French paper has to say

IN the streets of Melilla German military formations can be seen, recognisable without any shadow of doubt, by their uniforms, their arms, and their bearing, which distinguishes them clearly from Spanish troops.

The barracks of Melilla at present house about 8,000 German troops. A centre of military instruction is being directed by German officers who enjoy all the privileges of their army rank, not only in military circles, but even among the civilian population. That is to say, they command everywhere and everybody.

The instruction-centre is divided into three different sections : an armoured-car school, an aviation school, and a school of artillery and engineering. Native Arab troops are being trained and embodied in the main depôt, and henceforward will be instructed and armed in German fashion. The armoured-cars, aircraft, machine-guns and other material all come from Germany.

The land and sea formations of Melilla and Ceuta also co-operate in this training scheme. The German Staff is paying particular attention to the defence of Ceuta. The fortress which dominates the town and the sea is armed with long-range coastal batteries. The protection of the ports is assured by numerous German warships—cruisers, destroyers and submarines. The general impression gathered from all these preparations is that the Germans, not content with an intensive occupation of the fortified zones—Ceuta and Melilla—intend to turn them into important munition-dumps and large military camps.

Eyes on the Mines

There is every reason to believe that the establishment of the German Headquarters at Tetuan, in co-operation with, or replacing, the Spanish High Commissioner, has not only Spain as its objective, but more directly and more immediately, Morocco. The armaments assembled in the Riff and the formation of contingents of Arab troops, as well as the complete occupation of the Spanish mines by staffs of overseers and workmen sent specially from Germany—this combination of military measures and economic precautions constitutes a distinct menace to the northern half of the French Protectorate.

Two objectives are especially indicated : a political objective, symbolised by the ancient town of Fez, one of the last centres of Islamic civilisation and culture : an economic objective—the petroleum-wells of El Gharb (Western Morocco). It is common knowledge that for years Morocco has been a favourite obsession with the Germans. They have tried by every means in their power to instal themselves in that country, or, at least, to do a certain amount

of "peaceful penetration." Never before has such an opportunity occurred as that now offered by General Franco's insurrection.

In the event of a breakdown of the legitimate Government of Spain, it is to France that international treaties have entrusted the control of, and responsibility for, Spanish Morocco. But the Germans have forestalled us at Ceuta, Tetuan and Melilla. Throughout the Riff territory they have substituted their influence for our authority. The same state of affairs exists in the southern Ifni region, where, it is true, preparations are not so far advanced as in the Riff, but where nevertheless, German cruisers call regularly, bringing to the Arabs the arms and munitions which will be used against us. This time war preparations are not being carried out in Spanish territory, where numerous excuses are not wanting. It is being done in Morocco itself, at the very gates of our Protectorate.

Before this definite menace France remains passive. A few roads have been constructed near the Riff frontier. There is also talk of reconstructing some of those famous outposts which, since 1926—the date of the Riffian war against Abdul Karim—have become almost legendary. A few battalions of Algerian infantry are stationed at Meknes, two battalions of Arab cavalry have their depot at Agadir, and a regiment of Senegal native troops is stationed at Marrakesh. This attitude is purely defensive and can but encourage Germany.

EVEN THE BRITISH

On the climbing main street of the Arab quarter in Algiers, even among the old men playing their endless games on the steps of the dim and smelly cafés, I heard ugly mutterings against the French. Rough swastikas were painted on the walls of shops and houses. In a slit-like by-way, pointing to a couple of rickety children, a young native guide burst out into a tirade. "Would any government but the French neglect its native population like this?" he shouted. "The American, the German, the Italian, even the British, would not treat us as we are treated!"—Writer in *New York Times Magazine*.

THE SAHARA IS ON THE MOVE

The Colonial Authorities of French West Africa are worried. The Sahara, which has buried so many fertile and populous regions beneath its desert sands, continues its conquering march. Investigations show that the desert has advanced five-eighths of a mile southwards every year for the past three centuries.

The Colonial Government of the Ivory Coast has already undertaken several counter-measures. It encourages the establishment of plantations, as these conserve water and prevent the drying up of the soil. Large scale irrigation works have also been planned. But, unfortunately, so many mistakes have been made in this area for decades past by the wanton destruction of extensive forests.—*Utrechtsche Courant*, Utrecht.

ELYSIAN ROUNDELAY

by PIERRE DE REGNIER

From " Gringoire," Paris

Paris has not left it to foreigners to make fun of its Exhibition which, unfortunately, owing to the delay caused by strikes, had to be opened in an unfinished condition. We have refrained from translating this verse, as its charm would probably not have survived

ON the morning of the twenty-fourth, the warm sunshine poured through the windows of the *Palais de l'Elysée*, and the President of the Republic lay cradled in dreamless sleep when a mysterious voice aroused him, and began to sing :—

Ouvre les yeux, réveille-toi,
Mon cher Albert, ouvre ta porte,
Le printemps rayonne et c'est moi
Qui te l'apporte ;

Ouvre les plis de tes rideaux,
Ouvre bien grande ta fenêtre
Et regarde comme il fait beau
L'été va naitre ;

Contemple ton jardin fleuri
Où court un frisson d'émeraude . . .
Va te laver ; ouvre ton lit,
Ouvre l'eau chaude . . .

Ouvre tout grands tes robinets
Et puis, après, ouvre l'armoire,
Prends tes souliers, ton huit-reflets,
Pars pour la foire ! . . .

Ouvre la porte de l'auto
Si tu as chaud, ouvre la vitre
Et va-t'en au Trocadéro
Et vas-y " vitre " . . .

Ouvre-s-y l'Exposition
Ou bien déclare-la ouverte ;
C'est pareil. La tradition
Sera couverte . . .

Ouvre le pavillon roumain,
Ouvre le restaurant bulgare,
Ouvre le pavillon des nains,
Ouvre la gare ;

Ouvre tout ce qui est fermé
Même si ça s'entr'ouvre à peine,
Ouvre les jets d'eau, les cafés,
Ouvre la Seine . . .

Ouvre tout ce qu'on peut ouvrir
Pour que s'engouffrent les cohortes
De tous ceux qui veulent venir . . .
Ouvre les portes . . .

Ouvre ! . . . Ouvre donc tout, nom [de nom,
Pour que, sur les pelouses vertes,
On dise : " L'Exposition
Elle est ouverte ! . . . "

And the longed-for, but none the less extraordinary, event took place ; obeying the mysterious voice, the President of the Republic opened the Exhibition. Looking at it from outside, it has not changed much, but the opening has had at least one good result, for the crowd that had collected outside the barriers, to see how far the work had got, now wander about inside, so that one can now pass freely through that quarter of the town, without being held up and lost in the crowd.

Inside, several new pavilions are opened daily, *à la recherche du temps perdu.* But, they say, children that make their entry into the world when they are already overdue are always healthy and strong. Let us hope that the Exhibition will follow this example.

THE MODERN FOLK-SONG

A new attitude has been taken by B.B.C. officials towards the ballad. Though " plugging " of dance hits goes on nightly, they have decided that the same ballad must not be broadcast twice in the same week.

That, I think, is a mistake, because not only is the ballad the backbone of the publishing business, it is also essentially British in character, being the modern form of the English folk-song, and furthermore there is plenty of proof that the public want ballads.—" *Evening Standard,*" London, radio correspondent.

"Marianne," Paris.

CUNNING

"Have you a last request ?"
"Yes, to see the Exhibition finished. . . ."

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome.

"By Jove, I am not covetous for gold,
Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost ;
It yearns me not if men my garments wear :
Such outward things dwell not in my desires" —*Henry V*

HITLER V. THE VATICAN—

CROOKED METHODS

From Address by Cardinal Mundelein to the Assembled Catholic Clergy of the Archdiocese of Chicago

The fight between the Nazis and the Catholic Church in Germany for the right to educate the children in their way of thinking has reached a stage where no quarter is being given by either side. The address by Cardinal Mundelein, a part of which is given here, roused a storm in Germany, and led to a protest being made to the Pope. Dr. Goebbels retaliated by delivering a speech (broadcast over all German stations) in which he brought detailed accusations against the Catholic clergy, which no newspaper with a regard for decency would print. We are giving, however, some of his more general remarks in order that our readers may have a better idea of the extent to which the struggle has developed, and the methods of attack which are being employed against the Church

DURING and after the late war, the German Government com plained bitterly of the propaganda aimed at it by the Allie concerning atrocities perpetrated by German troops. Now the presen German Government is making use of this same kind of propagand: against the Catholic church, and is giving out, through its crookec Minister of Propaganda, stories of wholesale immorality in religiou institutions, in comparison with which the wartime propaganda i almost like bedtime stories for children.

You and I are interested in this as something concerning ourselves for people outside of the church, and perhaps the lukewarm amon our own people, reading these things constantly, will come to the con clusion, " Well, they are all alike." Some of the mud will cling t our own skirts.

Consequently, it will be not only unwise, but cowardly as well if we take the thing lying down, and do not fight back every time th subject is brought up outside.

The very religious orders the propagandists attack—we hav them here. They have been with us for many years. No communit we have has merited so much of this diocese as have the Franciscar Fathers, practically all of whom are Germans, and who have volun teered for nearly every corporal and spiritual work of mercy ; wh

have served without compensation in the prisons and jails and poor farms ; and have been at the beck and call of the priests and people every hour of the day and night.

We have the Alexian Brothers, nursing the sick and mentally afflicted for nearly three-quarters of a century in this city.

We have the communities of nuns that have come from Germany, of whose membership several now languish in German jails.

Surely the vile things these loud-mouthed German propagandists accuse them of could not have come overnight in Germany without a repercussion of it having been felt in our midst.

* * *

And why this washing of dirty linen before the world ? What is the motive behind it all ? I will read you a signed article by an American correspondent in Berlin, not a Catholic, that appeared a week ago in a New York daily newspaper :

" Public reaction to the immense publicity surrounding the trials of monks and lay brothers of the Catholic church on immorality charges has been threefold. Many loyal Catholics are convinced that the charges are false and that the trials are a frame-up.

THE LAST WORD

"You can tell the Almighty that we are making our own souls, out of whale oil and coal gas."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"Another group of Catholics and Protestants criticise secretly the use of the trials for anti-Catholic propaganda, which sometimes takes on the character of downright anti-Christian propaganda.

"Those National Socialist enthusiasts, who hate the Catholic church as a 'foreign' institution, naturally rejoice in its misfortunes and make as much of the trials as they can. Various Neo-Pagan periodicals are, for example, filled with cartoons of very questionable taste, and vitriolic editorials in which the editors are unable to conceal their satisfaction.

"The immediate issue which brought up resumption of the trials was the struggle over the school question. The Government gave the Catholic clergy a little taste of the damaging effects of such trials a year ago, then called a halt before the Olympics. The evidence had been discovered much earlier, when monasteries were searched in connection with the exchange trials.

"With this Damoclean sword hanging over the heads of the Catholic Bishops, the Government proceeded last fall and all winter to attack two important strongholds of Catholicism—the confessional schools and the Catholic youth organizations.

"The confessional schools were suppressed at Wuerttemberg and in the Saar and Palatinate. The Hesse school elections came out very favourably for the regime, as did those in various Bavarian cities, notably Munich and Nuremberg.

"A state youth law, meantime, destroyed the remaining Catholic youth organizations by forcing all boys and girls to join the Brownshirt Hitler Youth.

"The Catholic clergy, ignoring the Damoclean sword, attacked. They exposed the school elections as fakes.

* * *

"Pastoral letters were issued every month protesting against the school campaign as a breach of the concordat. Finally came the papal encyclical on Palm Sunday, constituting the most drastic challenge yet presented to the Nazis. The truce had been broken. The Government threw all the immorality trials into the courts simultaneously and mobilised its tremendous propaganda machine to give them the maximum publicity.

"Statistics are not available for the whole Reich, but in Prussia, 1,612,000 school children out of 1,737,000 Catholics of school age were

in 8,698 Catholic grammar schools. Another 500,000 to 700,000 were in Catholic schools in other parts of the Reich. These 2,000,000 or so children are the immediate issue. The press does not conceal the regime's hope that the trials will go a long way toward shattering public faith in Catholic education."

There you have the story in a nutshell, and there is no guarantee that the battlefront may not stretch some day into our own land.

Hodie mihi, cras tibi (Today is mine, tomorrow is yours.) The fight is to take the children away from us. If we show no interest in this matter now ; if we shrug our shoulders and mutter, " Well, maybe there is some truth in it," or " It is not our fight "—if we don't back up the Holy Father, well, when our turn comes we, too, will be fighting alone.

Perhaps you will ask how it is that a nation of 66,000,000 intelligent people will submit in fear and servitude to an alien—an Austrian paperhanger, and a darn poor one at that, I am told, and a few associates like Goebbels and Goering, who can, in this age of rising prices, say to an entire nation : " Wages cannot be raised."

Perhaps we would understand if we lived in a country where every second person is a Government spy, where armed forces come in and seize private books and papers without court procedure ;

GENERAL LUDENDORFF'S NEW RELIGION

" You are the Leader Let me be the Saviour "

Blix, in " Berlingske Sondag," Copenhagen

where the father can no longer discipline his boy for fear the latter will inform on him and land him in prison ; where personal savings and treasured securities are seized and sold to increase the gold supply.

Perhaps we would understand if we lived in a country where letters are opened and read, as in wartime they do only with enemy correspondence ; where the young tenderly nurtured girl is torn from the mother's side and sent into labour camps to live with the slatterns of the street ; where candidates for the religious life are not only sent into the work camps, but into the military camps as well.

Never before was the church in Germany as helpless as it is today —not even in the days of the *Kulturkampf.* Then they had their Centre party in Parliament ; then they had their leaders, lay and clerical ; then they had a Catholic press. Today the church is voiceless. When the Bishops speak, their words are drowned out by the noise of the Government's propaganda machine.

The least we can do to help the German church is to show our open sympathy in this hour of trial. And more still, our prayers— we should pray for the church in Germany and for the German people. We owe them something. They have contributed to the upbuilding of our church in the United States in the past, and we can help them now. United prayer on the part of our people will, in the end, prove more powerful, more effective, than the weight of the malicious propaganda that proceeds from the Third German Reich.

THE ACCUSATION

From a Speech by Dr. Goebbels

CHRISTIAN theories are the Church's business, Christian acts the State's and Party's. As far as we are concerned everyone can find salvation in his own way. But the Church must not interfere with the State's affairs. We look after our people, and the others look after their eternal salvation. One would think that would give them enough to do.

* * *

There's no such thing as Protestant geography or Catholic

biology. Children should be brought up in a *German* way of thinking, they must in later life feel themselves to be, not first and foremost Protestants or Catholics, but Germans !

On quite another footing are the immorality trials, which have been proceeding against an immense number of members of the Catholic clergy, and which have almost without exception led to heavy prison sentences on the accused. This matter is not so much one for the State as for the law. It is not a question here of regrettable isolated instances, as Church circles, by spreading irresponsible rumours, sought to make people believe, but of general moral decadence—to a horrifying extent such as has scarcely ever before been witnessed in the whole history of civilisation.

Moral Devastation

If it is maintained in reply that all these trials are only fakes, intended to compromise the holy Catholic Church, I must retort as follows : during the last few weeks it has been my official duty to study personally what is only a small fraction of the material contained in the official documents of the trials. I can only say that what the papers have published is simply minute compared with the appalling moral devastation which comes to light in these documents. If, therefore, it is declared on the Church's part that the published reports of these trials endanger the morals of the young, I must emphasise in reply that it is not the newspapers which print these reports, but the criminal aberrations of the Catholic clergy which are calculated to threaten the bodily and spiritual welfare of German youth. And I can assure my listeners that this pestilence must and will be exterminated root and branch ; and if the Church has shown itself too weak to do so, the State will see to it.

The German government intended to keep silent in public, as regards these events, and let the facts speak for themselves. I now see that I shall be forced to break that silence. For a clear and unmistakable answer is needed. A Catholic cardinal in America by the name of Mundelein has, in a public speech, in which he outrageously insulted the Führer, called me " the crooked German Propaganda Minister," whose only intention in permitting these trials was to harm the persecuted Catholic Church. He thus questions the justice of the trials, and has the effrontery to compare it to the atrocity

propaganda that was used as a weapon against Germany during the Great War ; and this is a personal attack upon myself. Our government is hereby accused of the most terrible crime of which a government can be found guilty—the open distortion of justice and law for an egoistical purpose. I am, therefore, obliged to leave my tower of silence, and to reply.

* * *

The Catholic Church has for years been attacking the National Socialist State with Pastoral Letters, in which they complain in moving terms about the supposed moral degeneration of our time.

They are, in so doing, protesting against a way of educating youth which is fresh, unstuffy and unprudish ; they measure the shorts of children at play and gymnastics in order to ascertain by the centimetre the low level of modern morals. They complain about supposedly evil conditions in the Hitler youth. What hypocrisy in the face of the crying scandal of moral degradation which, as the trials show, has spread throughout wide circles of the Catholic clergy !

* * *

If doubts are again cast on the truth of the immorality trials against Catholic priests by any person or body of importance inside or outside Germany, we shall try to dispel those doubts by the most effective means possible. We shall face several very high Church personages with the necessity of appearing before the Court and making answer under oath. Then the German people may recognise why the episcopal supervisory authorities have failed, and how true Christ's word is : " Beware of those who go about in sheep's clothing, but are inwardly ravening wolves."

UPS AND DOWNS

Chicago's Union League Club has a " billion dollar " room at its headquarters. During the early years of the depression, members of the club contributed stock certificates for which they had paid millions of dollars that later slumped in value until most of them were considered not worth the fancy paper on which they were printed. This room became an attraction for thousands of sightseers but during the last few months, it has taken on a somewhat dilapidated appearance. Some of the certificates used as wall paper have been showing an increase in value. So much so that the owners are steaming them off and putting them back into safety deposit boxes to await resumed dividends.—*Wall Street Journal*, New York.

TELEPHONE BOOKS DIE YOUNG

From " The Christian Science Monitor," Boston

THE Editor didn't believe it. But this is how the dispatch from London read :

LONDON.—Why does a telephone directory in the public telephone booths of London last six months and, in New York, only four days ?

Only four days ? Impossible ! Why, it would take a strong man a week to tear up one of those 45-ounce phone books. The chief of the Monitor's New York bureau couldn't imagine it, either.

So a reporter called the offices of the New York Telephone Company. Then he wrote :

NEW YORK.—The career of a telephone directory at several of New York's busiest public exchange booths is two days. . . .

" Look here," stormed the bureau chief. " This can't be. . . ."

" That's what they say," replied the reporter. " Forty-eight hours. Of course, that's only in the busiest places, like Times Square, Grand Central Station or the Hudson Terminal. In other booths, they last longer."

" How long ? "

" Four days. And that's average."

" Why ? "

" They just don't know."

And for that matter, why do telephone books last six months in London ? The British Post Office can't answer that one, either.

AUSTRALIA'S UP-TO-DATE SHEEP THIEVES

Graziers are complaining of sheep-stealing in the Goulburn area. Mr. J. W. Heffernan, of Gurrundah, has reported the loss of a hundred merinos. On a previous occasion he had fifty sheep stolen from his paddocks. Other owners have made complaints of a similar nature.

Sheep-stealing today is different in method compared with the old days. Nowadays a man goes along in a lorry and picks up a dozen at a time.—*Sydney Morning Herald,* Australia.

WISECRACK

A Texas evangelist has published a list of 723 sins. We're writing for a copy of it, as it is barely possible that we may have missed something.—*Washington Post,* U.S.A.

THE *EMPIRE* CONFERS—

AUSTRALIA HAS A BRIGHT IDEA (a non-aggression Pact for the Pacific).

"Dear Jap, let's fix it this way: I take nothing away from you, and you take nothing away from me."

"Die Brennessel," Munich

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

DADDY HAS TO DANCE *THEIR* STEP

BRITAIN ENTERS THE BALTIC

A NEUTRAL RAMPART

From the "Basler Nachrichten," Switzerland, 27.5.37

THE German Press has lately been showing a fast increasing interest in the political attitude of the Scandinavian countries. The comments with which the meeting of Hr. Sandler, the Swedish foreign minister, and Baron von Neurath, were hailed in the *Angriff,* and other leading organs of the National Socialist party, clearly reveal apprehension that the increasing influence of Great Britain in the politics and economics of Northern Europe may lead to the formation of a Baltic-Scandinavian *bloc* inspired by the British foreign minister.

The neutrality of the Scandinavian countries is openly considered to be a mere facade behind which an anti-German party is in steady preparation. The efforts to reanimate the Oslo convention are also judged from this point of view. The Propaganda Minister's own paper discusses in a remarkably truculent tone the following question: "What standpoint do the Scandinavian countries propose to adopt in the event of a big European conflict?" The paper would like to know if these countries, in company with a number of other small States, want to become the stage on which the belligerents would again have to struggle for supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs.

In order to understand this question fully, one must remember that, a few months ago, at the time of the visit of Hr. Stauning, the Danish Prime Minister, to London, the report was spread that Denmark had bound herself, in the event of a European War, to furnish supplies exclusively to England. Thereupon Dr. Munch gave it to be understood, in terms that do not permit of misunderstanding, that Denmark did not intend to take sides, but would, in accordance with her policy of neutrality, supply provisions to Germany, too, just as she did in the World War.

Germany takes, however, a much more serious view of Great Britain's diplomatic and economic activities in Sweden. It is well known that those in charge of the British armament scheme have acquired a considerable quantity of Swedish iron, and that, at the end of this year, Sweden's commercial treaties with Germany

are due to expire, and that under no circumstances will they be renewed to their present extent. The reports, according to which England has made certain of securing practically the entire supply of Sweden's iron ore for a period of ten years, are regarded in informed Scandinavian circles, as wildly exaggerated, but one fact remains indisputable, that Germany can no longer look upon Sweden as an unlimited source of supply for the iron ore that she needs for military purposes.

The driving force behind the " new course " is clearly the Swedish Foreign Minister, Hr. Sandler, who since his visit to London, is said to be very ready to fall in with the conceptions of the British Foreign Secretary in the field of foreign politics. There is no doubt that Hr. Sandler's personality is quite different from that of the Danish Foreign Minister, who was until recently, in his capacity as member of the League Council, the spokesman of the Scandinavian countries. But the difference between them is one of temperament, not of political outlook. Hr. Sandler, thanks to his activities, has made clearly evident the leading position which Sweden occupies in Northern Europe. In his attitude over the necessity and possibility of a northern defensive alliance he dissociates himself, and the whole Swedish Government, from the hopeless policy of resignation adopted by statesmen on the other side of the Oeresund ; but in fundamental questions of foreign affairs, his attitude is identical with theirs.

The Scandinavian attitude of strict neutrality excludes every possibility of forming a *bloc* with any one of the Great Powers or power-groups. It is therefore unjust to portray Sweden, or any other member of the Scandinavian *bloc*, as sailing in Great Britain's wake.

Lord Plymouth's Tour

Great Britain's efforts towards the establishment of a rampart of neutral states from the North Cape to the Black Sea as a barrier between the Red and the Brown countries are well known. Neither is it a secret that the conversations of the Scandinavian Minister with the British Foreign Secretary were activated by the same idea ; or that Lord Plymouth's journey in June is to be made with the object of studying the prospects of its fulfilment. He will endeavour on the one hand, to better relationships between Poland and the states of the Baltic *Entente,* and on the other, to bring about that closer

connection between the Scandinavian and Baltic States which Riga and Tallinn have so long striven for. Whether he will succeed is, to say the least of it, doubtful. Close co-operation with the Baltic *Entente* would very much increase the risks run by the Northern *bloc.*

If the Scandinavian countries welcome the intensified activity of Great Britain in Northern Europe, it is—apart from the possible economic advantages that they may reap—mainly because the balance of power in the Baltic will now be re-established. The military and political results of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement led to great uneasiness both in Scandinavia and the Baltic States, as it appeared to mean British acquiescence in German predominance in the Baltic. The basis of Britain's new policy is the abandonment of her lack of interest in Baltic developments. It has become evident that it is necessary for England to maintain as before the Great War, a state of affairs in which there is neither a German, nor a Russian predominance in the Baltic.

AUTARCHIC GOSSIPS *"Marianne," Paris*

"That's a promise, isn't it? You give me your recipe for how to make these delicious cakes with coal-dust butter, and I'll send you the pattern of my little spaghetti pull-over."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs. Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible

A VOICE FROM THE U.S.

SIR,—Public affairs have been very bad in this country.

I am crazily loyal about my country, but I have to confess we have had very anxious times. One thing we understand now, that Hoover lost because the underworld was against him, because he had started the organisation of " G " men. Also the best talker won because most people believe what they hear and read. No balancing, no discrimination

Everyone arose at 5 a m. to hear the Coronation, or at least part of it. We were all very much interested in the ceremony and especially the serious manner in which the king spoke Displays of replicas of crowns, and other paraphernalia, old chair of Scone, robes, etc., still draw crowds in Boston department stores. Even the Irish seem interested and that is saying a great deal

Of course, we had all been looking forward to the crowning of Edward He is the great favourite. We feel, living in a glass house ourselves, that the British government treated him cruelly. Why could they not have said, " All right, if you do not wish to be king, we can use you as a travelling agent for the empire. We will pay you a salary for doing this work as an aid to the king." I think after all Edward had done—spoiled his young manhood in the old war, doing all their dirty work all over the world—the government made a great mistake in ostracising him. He is clever and knows more about what is going on in the world than some of those old peers who have never been away from the " tight little island "

Most of my friends who had made reservations for seats and hotel rooms for the Coronation did not go to England this spring. Just one went across. The others may go later to England ; a great many are curious about Finland because she is the only country who has paid her debts to the United States Government.

We feel very keenly the injustice of Italy's campaign in Ethiopia. Of course, the débacle in Spain nauseates us. What is the matter with Europe that they cannot live and let live ?

I doubt if America would cross the water again. I have heard many men say that they would say to the recruiting officer, " Shoot me here "

D B

Boston, Mass.

GERMANY'S COLONIAL RECORD

SIR,—I am much amused at the spate of crude and naive German propaganda in your pages. In May you published an article, by a German, on the former German colonies Surely you know that almost everything he says is untrue. Have you never heard of the Hereros, who were reduced from 80,000 when the Germans took over German S.W. Africa to 15,000 at the end of 1911 ? At the end of the 1911 rebellion, Governor von Trotha said . " Kill everyone, take no prisoners."

In 1897, Karl Peters was tried for his maladministration of German E. Africa. Evidence was given of terrorism, plunder, forced concubinage, flogging and murder. At about the same time Governor von Puttkamer, of the

Cameroons, was charged with similar offences, fined 1,000 marks, and reprimanded.

A year before the Great War, E. Alexander Powell, late of the American Consular Service in Egypt, reported in his book *The Last Frontier*, the result of his investigations in German E. Africa. "There is not a town in German E. Africa," he wrote, "where you cannot see boys from 8-14 years shackled by chains running from iron-collar to iron-collar, and guarded by soldiers with loaded rifles, doing the work of men under a deadly sun. Natives with bleeding backs are constantly making their way into British and Belgian territory." It is strange that a man who said his little piece in *Thunder in the Air* should open his pages to propaganda, crude and blatant, for Germany, the country where war is worshipped as a god, and where even the school children (girls as well as boys), are taught to look upon war as a fine thing.

J TURNER.

London.

The object of WORLD REVIEW *is to publish impartially all views in order to give British people an idea of what other nations think The articles we print cannot be taken as an indication of the Editor's opinions*

THE LAND FOR ALL

SIR,—The monopolising of land and, therefore, labour and produce brings about hunger all over the world.

The land *must* belong to the Peoples and be valued for a State revenue. All other taxes (tariffs) must be abolished. Land monopolists cause war and are so stupid they destroy the very things they want. Greed is always stupid. The land revenue must be used for the whole nation not a privileged few. Then transport, lighting, water supply can be free as social services. Russia is suffering from the belief that money put out to usury is wealth. She could create her own means of exchange and let the right people be free to work in their own way, by their own initiative.

BERTHA STARR JEFFERIES.

Bristol

QUITE A BRIDGE

IT says nothing to say that the new San Francisco bridge is eight and a half miles long, but it does convey some idea of the length to say that it was necessary to instal a small jail on the bridge to take care of violators of traffic regulations.—*New York Sun.*

WORLD REVIEW COMPETITION

Result of Competition No. 5

THE British Government offered the leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons (whose official title is "Leader of His Majesty's Opposition") a salary of £2,000 a year. The leaders of the totalitarian States, overcoming their first astonishment, decided to adopt a similar plan. We offered the usual prizes for imaginary letters from General Goering to Thaelmann (in prison) or from Stalin to Trotsky (in exile), announcing this decision, and calling them to the high functions of State that awaited them. Many of the letters we received contained good points. Goering, in J. Chevallier's entry, offers Thaelmann "a special uniform which I myself selected for you," and strikes the authentic note in stating : "We rely on

your patriotism to oppose the Government in all cases; any approval would be deemed high treason. The world must know that people here enjoy freedom of speech, and that Germany is the country of genuine democracy." First prize goes to R. R. Roe, and second to "F." (address please).

First Prize

(Letter from General Goering to Thaelmann)

Certain of the degenerate and effete democracies have vilely insinuated that the Great German People lacks generosity and tolerance towards its opponents. In order to confound this malicious falsehood the Führer has decreed that the salary of 40,000 marks (£2,000) per annum should be paid to you as Leader of the Opposition.

However, you will note that 20,000 marks will be your voluntary contribution to the Winter Relief Fund, and in view of your holding an official position under the National Socialist Government, a subscription of 20,000 marks is due to the Party Funds. The money has therefore, been forwarded to the correct quarters.

You will still remain, of course, at the official residence of the Leader of the Opposition.

R. R. Roe.

Second Prize

(Letter from Stalin to Trotsky)

After careful deliberations with the chief of police, I have at last persuaded myself to officially recognise you as a dirty dog. Henceforth you will receive from the state 100 roubles per year which we hope will help you to while away the time until we have the pleasure of blowing out any brains you may have left. Since you are not resident in Russia, 50 roubles are automatically confiscated by the State. Also 10 roubles are deducted for the Worker's Holiday Fund; 10 roubles for the Disabled Worker's Fund; 10 roubles for the Army Fund; 10 roubles for the Anti-Trotsky Fund; 10 roubles towards the cost of your trial and execution which are in constant rehearsal. Since the cost of postage would be 10 roubles you therefore owe us 10 roubles per year, first instalment due next month. P.O. should be made payable to U.S.S.R., c/o Stalin, but not crossed.

F.

COMPETITION NO. 7

An American authoress, who is considered worthy of being quoted in the *New Republic*'s funny column, says:—

"I understand that Mussolini has now done a great deal to put down the terrible cruelty with which the wild birds were treated in Italy What a tremendous amount of other good things, too, he has done!"

We want, for once, to stop carping and to give our readers a chance of pointing out other possible ways in which we might learn from Italy, Germany or Russia. Suggestions, which should relate to specific improvements rather than to theories, should be not longer than 150 words. A first prize of one guinea, and a second prize of a book (value not over 10s. 6d.) noticed or advertised in any recent issue of WORLD REVIEW are offered for the best replies. All entries to be received by August 5.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Prizes for Amusing Pars.

We offer a prize of 5s. to the reader who sends in the best, i.e. the most amusing, quotation from a newspaper, English or foreign, such as appear at the foot of our articles each month.

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

THE CHARM OF COPENHAGEN

by OLIVER WARNER

THERE are certain places abroad where, when their luck is in, people go each year in crowds ; Paris ; the South of France ; England , Switzerland ; the Lido ; Biarritz ; Egypt. Very few go to Copenhagen. This is scarcely the fault of Denmark, which offers every inducement to the tourist, and enables him to arrange every detail of his trip, if he wills, long before he starts, providing for every comfort on his way. Perhaps, for those who do go, it is fortunate that this lovely northern city is not a raging fashion, for fashions sometimes have an unhappy way with foreign cities.

Among their many charms and virtues the Danes have one remarkable and rare art—that of making childish things worth while. All day—for many days—one may wander, marvelling, through Copenhagen. One may admire its quaint streets, with ancient and very good modern architecture harmoniously blended ; the signs above the shop-doors, showing a medieval pride in trade ; the doors themselves, comely and dignified ; the green of the parks ; the fountains and flowers which decorate the squares ; the statuary ; the cafes, fresher, but as gay as those of Paris ; the glories of the hero-king Christian IV in Rosenborg Castle ; the tall masts in the canals, so reminiscent of Amsterdam ; the universal bicycle ; the good manners (and good English) everywhere ; the Royal Copenhagen porcelain, with its perfection in cloudy blues and greys ; the hammered silver-work of the late Georg Jensen ; the pewter of Just Andersen ; the famous spiral staircase of Our Saviour's Church ; the figure of Eriksen's Mermaid by the waterside . . . these and a hundred other delights are for the traveller who ventures to Copenhagen, but he will miss the very essence of the city if his good star does not guide him in the evening to the Tivoli.

The Copenhagen Tivoli, whose season is the summer, is truly original. It is not a theatre, a music-hall, a restaurant, or even a cinema, as one might suppose. In daytime it is just a park with a lake, not greatly different from many another except that it is brightly decorated with apparently pointless Chinese lanterns. But once darkness descends, it is a place transformed. One pays a trifling sum, goes through a turnstile, and immediately one is free of perhaps the most entrancing place of amusement in the world. The Danes, it may be said, have the fairy-tale complex, as well they may have, having given the world Hans Andersen, and here, in their

Tivoli, that atmosphere of charming unreality is brought to life.

Chinese lanterns may be either garish or lovely, according to their use. In the Tivoli they are lovely. Lines of bright colours lead to gay palaces. Butterflies, blue and gold and red, settle perpetually on the dark foliage of the beech trees, brightly lit ; clusters of fruit load their branches, and sway gently in the wind. Each avenue leads to fresh delight. Here, in an Oriental palace, one may watch the youth of Denmark dance—and what dancers they are ! Here one may shoot at pipes or bears ; whirl round in a flying white boat with gay children, to the tune of old waltzes ; have one's silhouette surprisingly well cut with a few deft twinkles of the scissors ; take a boat across the lake and watch the swiftly changing colours of the great fountain ; see acrobats perform feats of daring, leaping like monkeys from trapeze to trapeze ; enjoy a wordless pantomime acted on a lovely stage, perfectly accompanied with music ; here, in a spacious hall, one may delight in Bach and Beethoven, and in many deftly situated cafes may drink good beer or coffee, eat, and watch the people pass. Danish food and drink are invariably excellent.

Three things cannot fail to strike one about the crowds which saunter through this pleasant place—their love of children (there are fine sand-heaps and playgrounds everywhere) ; their quietness, and their even-tempered happiness.

Copenhagen seems to have discovered the lost art of living in content. Perhaps, indeed, it never forgot it.

And when the enchantments even of this town pall, and the visitor sighs for sea or country, Bellevue Beach, a mere five miles away, provides sand of a cleanness unknown, alas, on our bepapered shores.

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

THE VITAL ISSUE

BRITAIN FACES GERMANY. By A. L. Kennedy. *Cape.* 5*s.*

Reviewed by H. POWYS GREENWOOD

MR. KENNEDY, whose long experience on *The Times* has given him an unrivalled knowledge of his subject, has written a clear and fairly stated analysis of Anglo-German relations since the war He is not in the least "pro-German," and still less "pro-Nazi"; he deals faithfully with the exaggerations and mis-statements of German propagandists and pro-German apologists, and he speaks bluntly of "gangsterism" and of the return of the "Hun Spirit" But it is precisely this determination to call a spade a spade which gives the book its great value as an emphatic restatement of the plain fact that to fit post-war Germany into the European and world systems remains the major task of any diplomacy aiming at peace.

Can it be done? Mr. Kennedy does not answer that question. But we must make a serious effort. And before doing so we must look back on the mistakes of Anglo-French diplomacy, on the series of "disastrous Noes which have laid upon the victorious Powers so large a share of responsibility for the appalling conditions in which Europe now finds itself."

Mr. Kennedy agrees with Mr. Harold Nicolson and others that the great fault of the Versailles Treaty lay not in its intrinsic unfairness, but in the fact that against precedent and, indeed, almost by accident, it was imposed by force instead of being negotiated. Germany never accepted it and her foreign policy has since had but one aim, to secure its revision Mr. Kennedy traces that policy through the three stages of fulfilment, revision by agreement, and revision by unilateral action.

He does not believe that all was lost when the "Noes" to the Weimar Republic had helped Hitler to power. For Hitler started by attempting revision by agreement. Even after he had left the League over arms equality (for which Germany had waited fifteen years), he offered to return to Geneva on a thoroughly good proposal for armament limitation under international control and the achievement of German equality by stages. That offer was known to the British Government in February, 1934. Nearly three months were frittered away in feeble and servile attempts to overcome French objections without giving any positive assurances, and not until M. Barthou had banged the door with his notorious note of April 17th was the British public given a chance of understanding the issue—in essence the collaboration of Germany or her further isolation "The failure to force that great opportunity was perhaps the lowest point of depression to which British diplomacy has sunk in recent history."

Then followed the Franco-Soviet Pact with its inevitable reactions. But yet another opportunity of securing Germany's collaboration was missed when early in 1935 Hitler's agreement to conclude a Western Air Pact forthwith was met by temporising. Not till then did he begin the policy of unilateral action by denouncing the military clauses of the Treaty. We cannot disclaim responsibility for Germany's "gangsterism" in foreign policy.

What, however, can be done now? Mr. Kennedy faces the dangers frankly. He shows the contradictions between teaching at home and professions abroad; he gives extensive quotations from the original edition of *Mein Kampf*; he maintains that Hitler's sincerity is emotional—"that of an actor who plays his part with such sincerity that it becomes impossible to distinguish what is genuine and what is feigned." Above all he stresses the deification of the State, whose interests are held to override moral considerations. We must stand up to a Germany which now more than ever respects force alone. But is that all?

Do we or do we not believe in

"the good old rule
. . . the simple plan
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can . . ."?

If we do not, then we must take peaceful change seriously. It is because the colonial question is the only one directly at issue between Germany and ourselves, the only one where we can make changes at our own expense, that Mr. Kennedy advocates the cession of territory, preferably in West Africa, as part of an Anglo-German settlement. Although he sees this as the beginning of a wider move to make amends for the fundamental mistake of "having never had a Peace Congress at which Germany sat as an equal," there is no need for us to wait for others. But we must insist on a contribution from Germany. She must reverse her revisionist propaganda machine. If she will not accept a reasonable settlement, if the Nazi system is to be made a scourge to Europe; we must oppose it to the end as we opposed Napoleon.

Here at any rate is a positive policy. Is it too late to try it?

INDIAN VARIETY

THIRTY DAYS OF INDIA. By Commander Stephen King Hall. *Jenkins*. 5*s*.

HINDU CUSTOMS. By Stanley Rice. *Allen & Unwin*. 7*s*. 6*d*.

INDIA TODAY AND TOMORROW By Margarita Barns. *Allen & Unwin*. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Reviewed by LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

THOUGH for the moment the British reading public wants to hear no more of India save that its provinces will sit down to work their constitution, and be happy in so doing, still books about India pour forth. This month's batch includes three of considerable interest and from entirely different angles. Dealing with the lightest first, when Stephen King Hall writes of a subject it is always well and brightly done, and as he says himself this is pure globe-trotting, a voyage of interest and observation and for him of discovery. Ian Hay has done it lately with equal verve, and *Thirty Days* cannot hope to match in knowledge or humour with Abereigh McKay's famous *Twenty-one Days*. Nevertheless it is a very readable up-to-date book which those who know will enjoy as much as those who don't, as he takes them by the old route and the old places to Delhi and the Frontier and the Taj. But I cannot refrain from a slight tug at a leg that was once Naval.

It was not well to bring out the controversy about whether Army or Air Force can control the Frontier best. The last six years have shown clearly where the proper relation lies. Nor is it fair to say that the Commander-in-Chief would not let him fly over the frontier for reasons of the controversy—rather was it that a forced landing with the difficulty of bringing off a perhaps impaired visitor, makes such treats only worth while for more important ones. Nor would anyone with Indian war experience have used the big word disaster for the guides' tragedy in the Mohmand country ; but a very good book withal.

Stanley Rice's *Hindu Customs*, lies in a very different category, and is a scholar's book from a high authority. It is chiefly concerned with pushing the origins of Caste, and other deep-set Hindu customs, beyond the Aryan arrival, and combating the theory that Caste comes from a protective programme to keep the white blood white . . much as does the strong instinct of North America. Now that we know that Dravidian India was a cultured land before the Aryan, and that caste is strongest in Dravidian India, it is with them, possibly equally for protective reasons against aboriginal blood, that that rule of life arose. His book is a noteworthy addition to a subject both intriguing and important.

Margarita Barns takes us to the modern India of lawyers, non-martial classes, politics that are often bogus, round-table conferences, educated Hindu ladies and the like. It is easy to see the milieu in which she started, and how, while increasing her knowledge and sympathy, the knowledge of the true problems, perhaps against her will, is forced on her It makes her end a valuable contribution, borne of some years experience with words of wisdom. This is the most important of her conclusions : "The last of the de-

termined *national* movements of resistance to the British connection has now been seen. Short of the outbreak of a large-scale war in which Great Britain was involved, in which event it is conceivable that India . . . might be roused to avail herself of an opportunity . . . there seems to be no prospect whatever of Mr. Gandhi or any other leader being able to unite the country in any mass movement." Most who know India intimately will agree, and will also say that the actual nationality in question in this continent of many nations, has never existed It is not too much to say that this book is one of the best that has appeared on modern political India from the outside point of view, and it is rich with the right kind of sympathy One word of warning No one should write of what has *not* been done in India without knowing what *has* been done. A century and a quarter is a short time to repair the crashing of a thousand years' duration

THE CHARM OF HERESY

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED
By Leon Trotsky. *Faber & Faber.* 12*s.* 6*d*

WORLD REVOLUTION, 1917-36
By C. L. R. James *Secker & Warburg.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by R. H. S. Crossman

History relates that when William Godwin published his revolutionary opinions at the close of the 18th century, an attempt was made to suppress them, but a wise statesman intervened with the remark " while they cost a guinea they can do no harm " The Communists would be well-advised to take the same view of Messrs. Trotsky and James. So long as the price of their ferocious attacks on " Stalinism " limits their influence to bourgeois connoisseurs of Marxian controversy, Stalin can rest secure !

But how refreshing Trotsky is ! Without doubt the most brilliant political controversialist of the day, he has mixed wit and malice with his serious criticisms and produced the most exciting book on the U.S.S.R. which I have read. And his style is infectious : Mr. James is no Trotsky, but his book also makes better reading than those of his opponents, and, taken together with Trotsky, forms a formidable indictment against the Third International and the present regime in Russia. If intelligence and literary talent were the only factors in the struggle, Trotskyism would win hands down !

Of course heretics are always more interesting than orthodox believers. The very fact that they *are* heretics shows their independence of judgment, even if it indicates a certain irresponsibility as well. No one can be a Trotskyist today from ambition or a desire to court popularity, and for this very reason Trotsky's case against Stalin is worthy of our attention. His positive programme of permanent revolution may be impractical, but it embodies a hard core of Marxian doctrine which Stalin cannot explain away and without which Russia is likely to replace revolutionary fervour with a stolid and uninspiring conservative nationalism.

Stalin and Trotsky are indeed incarnations of the opposing poles of the Marxian dialectic. The former is the shrewd party boss unsurpassed in the arts of power politics, ruthlessly loyal to his crude interpretation of the Marxist doctrine. The latter is a daring and elegant adventurer in the realms of idea and action. His inventive mind cannot be loyal to a dogma for long but tries to elaborate it into newer and subtler forms. For this reason he must always be a heretic and always in

opposition: he is a leader, but always of the advanced minority, a communist but always critical of communists. In quieter times the contradiction of two such personalities might have ensured a lively revolution within the U.S.S.R. But dictatorship cannot afford the luxury of this clash, which is the essence of democracy. Trotsky is now an emigré, petulant and brilliant, and however much we admire his writing, we cannot but pity him for his political impotence.

THE CANNIBALS ARE COMING

DEATH IN THE MORNING. By Helen Nicholson. *Lovat Dickson* 5*s*.

SALUD! By Peadar O'Donnell. *Methuen* 7*s*. 6*d*.

Reviewed by JOHN MARKS

BOTH these books are short personal accounts of the Civil War in Spain as witnessed and experienced by their authors; neither is noteworthy for its style nor important in its conclusions, but each presents a moving picture of a different side in the struggle. Helen Nicholson (the Baroness de Zglinitzki) is an American, resident in Granada with her daughter's family when the war broke out, who has an unaffected, harrowing report to make on the bombardment of that beautiful town by Government aeroplanes. Mr. O'Donnell is a good rebellious Irishman who hates the Spanish rebels because they are counter-revolutionaries and he is an anti-Fascist. He happened to be in Catalonia looking for a fishing village that would remind him of Achill—there to write a book—when the Whites and the Reds started to exterminate one another. With his love of liberty, his gift for enthusiasm, and his flair for comradely organisation, what more could Mr. O'Donnell ask? He writes very badly, but with flashes of true human insight; in his stalwart, emotional, breezy way, he enjoyed the war. Like all good fighters he has a fair, almost an open, mind—except when impulse or ignorance leads him by the nose: for example, his effusion over the hasty, feeble Catalan sally against Aragon and his grave misrepresentation of General Goded's defence at his court-martial.

In contrast, the lady writing on the other side is calm, humane, supremely matter-of-fact. As officious, capable and gallant as Mr. O'Donnell, she is equally unquestioning of the privilege and responsibility of her own class—the class Mr. O'Donnell feels for and despises. Her political opinions may be trivial, but her knowledge of the Spaniards is naturally greater than his, her attachment to them genuine and sensible. Its very simplicity makes *Death in the Morning* a strangely poignant book. Moreover, she disliked the war and suffered from it at close quarters; Mr. O'Donnell chose to inspect it. He and the Baroness both refer, with resigned pity, to horrible executions they all but witnessed, and her admiration for the legionaries is the same as his fondness for the Anarchists. The two narratives, in fact, are exactly opposite in sympathy and about equal in value. if read, they should be read together.

SHORTER NOTICE

THE LAW PROVIDES. By E. Morrow. *Jenkins*. 10*s*. 6*d*. *Illus*.

THIS book tells of life in little-known, sparsely inhabited North-West Australia. It is the account by a mounted policeman of his daily work as officer of the law, amateur doctor and much beside, facing hardships from heat, thirst, blacks and loneliness. They are real Australians whom he describes.

CONFIDENCE AND CONFERENCE

by "RAPIER"

The gold scare, though scotched, is not completely killed and certainly not buried, as its head is reared periodically in the pages of the press to vex and alarm the timid. Particularly is this the case in the popular press where the word of the expert carries an authority only equalled by that of a witch doctor among savages. The day after Sir John Simon had given fresh reassurance to the doubters, and confidence in gold seemed likely to be restored, the *Daily Mail* featured an article by Professor Cassel advocating a cut in the gold price by 35 per cent. of its increase since devaluation of the main currencies The Swedish professor was heralded as the "world's greatest expert on gold," a title which, with all his eminence, must have sounded strangely in the ears of the author. Surely among his peers the views of one economist carry equal weight with those of his contemporaries and it is proverbial that where two or three economists are gathered together there will be five opinions.

It would be an easy task to marshal exactly contrary views to those of Professor Cassel expounded with equal weight and authority. But the fact remains that there is a gold problem and that no amount of soft answers by those in authority, either in Washington or Whitehall, will convince the sceptical that at some time or other a change may not occur in the price of gold. The most calming action would be for the authorities to state frankly that no change will be made by them within a considerable period and then only after every aspect of the problem has been considered in detail and only by co-operative action.

Among the many problems affecting the price of gold, and of its distribution, are those of the price level, of foreign lending, and of international trade. These aspects of the problem have been under consideration this month by two conferences, the Imperial Conference in London, and the Ninth Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce in Berlin. At the Imperial Conference economic subjects were mainly excluded from the agenda which dealt with foreign policy and defence, but behind the scenes economic subjects bulked large. Shipping subsidies for Empire lines were also discussed. But most important of all, the question of an Anglo-American trade treaty was laid before the Dominion delegates for their observations. A list of the commodities on which America would like to get tariff concessions from Britain had been prepared by Washington and the Dominions were asked what concessions, if any, of their Ottawa agreements they were willing and able to make in order to allow Britain to proceed to actual negotiations with America. This action raised many difficult problems of detail for the Dominions, especially

for Premier Lyons of Australia who has a general election to face in the near future and finds it difficult to make concessions at this juncture. But it is to be hoped that larger considerations will be allowed to exert their sway, and that the Dominions will take the view that the ultimate benefits to be derived from an Anglo-American treaty for the world in general will outweigh any minor domestic considerations. For it is an undoubted fact that America puts an Anglo-American trade treaty in the forefront of its policy for co-operation with Europe. Political co-operation has been temporarily blocked by the neutrality legislation and the only hope of any American co-operation in future lies through a trade treaty with Britain. This would, in American opinion, establish the right atmosphere for subsequent co-operation on other economic subjects and perhaps ultimately of political co-operation Without it the way seems blocked for another generation

The Berlin Congress is in a different category to the Imperial Conference as it is more a means of educating public opinion on the right steps to take for economic betterment than a plenary body capable of taking sovereign action Many of the subjects to be discussed bear upon those problems dealt with in my opening remarks. Lord Essendon, for example, is reading a paper on the necessity for abandoning bi-lateral trade agreements and for a return to multilateral trade if international trade is to be restored in its fullness. This aspect of international problems is stressed too in a paper by Mr. Heath, of Australia, on "the Glut and Scarcity of Raw Materials." The subject of foreign lending is dealt with in a most comprehensive study by Mr. Oscar Hobson, assisted by Mr. Dacey, which is being circulated to the Congress. Mr. Hobson refutes the pessimists who claim that the days of foreign lending are numbered and shows that its resumption is a necessity for a world revival of trade. Resolutions on this and kindred subjects are to be put to the Congress and it is hoped will not fall on deaf ears.

Anxious Days in France

But while there is hope of freeing trade barriers in some countries, the situation in France arouses anxiety. The repatriation of capital which should normally have followed last autumn's devaluation has not eventuated owing to the rentiers' lack of confidence in M Blum's Government Indeed, the amount remaining abroad is estimated at £550,000,000. As a result, the Budget is once again out of balance by the sum of over £181,000,000 in the current year, and the estimated deficit for 1938 is the enormous sum of £454,000,000.

The flight of capital in mid-June brought about a crisis which has caused M. Blum's fall as we go to press.

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

SPAIN

May 21. Sentence of death passed by Basque Government on German airman captured and accused of having taken part in destruction of Guernica In response to appeals, particularly from French Foreign Minister, prisoners later exchanged for Russians taken by Franco's forces

,, 29. German pocket battleship *Deutschland*, resting off rebel port of Ibiza, bombed by Spanish Government planes Twenty-seven killed, many injured Valencia Government issued statement that battleship opened fire first on the planes, but this indignantly denied in Germany

,, 29 Franco released foreign prisoners.

,, 31 German battleships bombarded Almeria as reprisal for the *Deutschland* incident. Twenty killed and many injured Germany and Italy withdraw from Non-Intervention Committee and control scheme, until new plan worked out which would guarantee their ships against attacks.

June 3 General Mola, commander of National Army of the North, killed in aeroplane crash

,, 4 General Davila appointed successor to General Mola on Basque front

,, 6 Basque Government published letter delivered to the Pope by delegation of clergy, regarding destruction of Durango and Guernica

,, 12 Germany and Italy return to Non-Intervention Control Committee, on agreement for prevention of further *Deutschland* incidents Consultation before reprisals, but the right to immediate self-defence decided upon

GERMANY

May 28. Dr. Goebbels delivered attack on Catholic Church in reply to American Cardinal Mundelein's charges Relations between the German Government and the Vatican become further strained.

June 7. Dr. Eckener returned to Europe after taking part in enquiry into cause of *Hindenburg* disaster. Stated cause may never be known but not sabotage. Helium to be used in new German airships.

June 8. Official report from naval commander-in-chief on *Deutschland* incident issued.

UNITED KINGDOM

May 26 Bus strike ended, after lasting all but a month Men return on promise of further enquiry.

,, 28 Mr Baldwin resigned and created Earl. Mr Neville Chamberlain succeeds him as Prime Minister New Cabinet formed
Lord Plymouth, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, leaves for diplomatic tour of the Baltic States.

June 3 Wedding of Duke of Windsor and Mrs Wallis Warfield at the Chateau de Candé, France

,, 15 Baron von Neurath, German Foreign Minister invited to visit England for talks with Mr Eden

,, 15 Imperial Conference ended

ITALY

June 2. Field-Marshal von Blomberg visits Rome to inspect Italian forces

FRANCE

May 25 Paris Exhibition, in incomplete state, opened by President Lebrun.

,, 26 Dr Schacht, opening German Pavilion, stressed German willingness to co-operate in international trade developments.

June 10. French note on German proposal for new Locarno, or Western Pact, received in London. Reply unfavourable, on grounds that pact would merely leave Germany a free hand in the East, whilst tying France in the West, and would mean virtual abandonment of the League.

,, 16 M Blum, whose Treasury is faced with a deficit of £181,000,000, asked for powers to enact financial measures by decree. Communists agreed to support him, and he secured vote in Chamber.

DANUBE STATES AND BALKANS

May 19. King of Italy and Count Ciano visited Budapest

„ 26. Declaration of friendship between Greece and Turkey

June 6. President Moscicki of Poland visited Bucarest

„ 8 *et seq.* Baron von Neurath, German Foreign Minister, on visit to Jugoslavia and Hungary to strengthen German relations with those countries

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

June 16 Bill introduced providing for military training of whole population of both sexes from age of 6 to 60

USSR

May 23 Soviet air-station established at the North Pole

June 11. Trial of Red Army generals for high treason began.

„ 13. Execution of Marshal Tukhachevsky and seven other generals of the Red Army for "spying and wrecking"

„ 16. Head of White Russian Republic committed suicide.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

May 26 Egypt unanimously elected a member.

„ 29. Dispute between France and Turkey over Sanjak of Alexandretta settled Province to become autonomous.

SYRIA

June 7 Martial law in Sanjak of Alexandretta following riots between Arabs and Turks. Nationalist leaders protest throughout the country against League's decision

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